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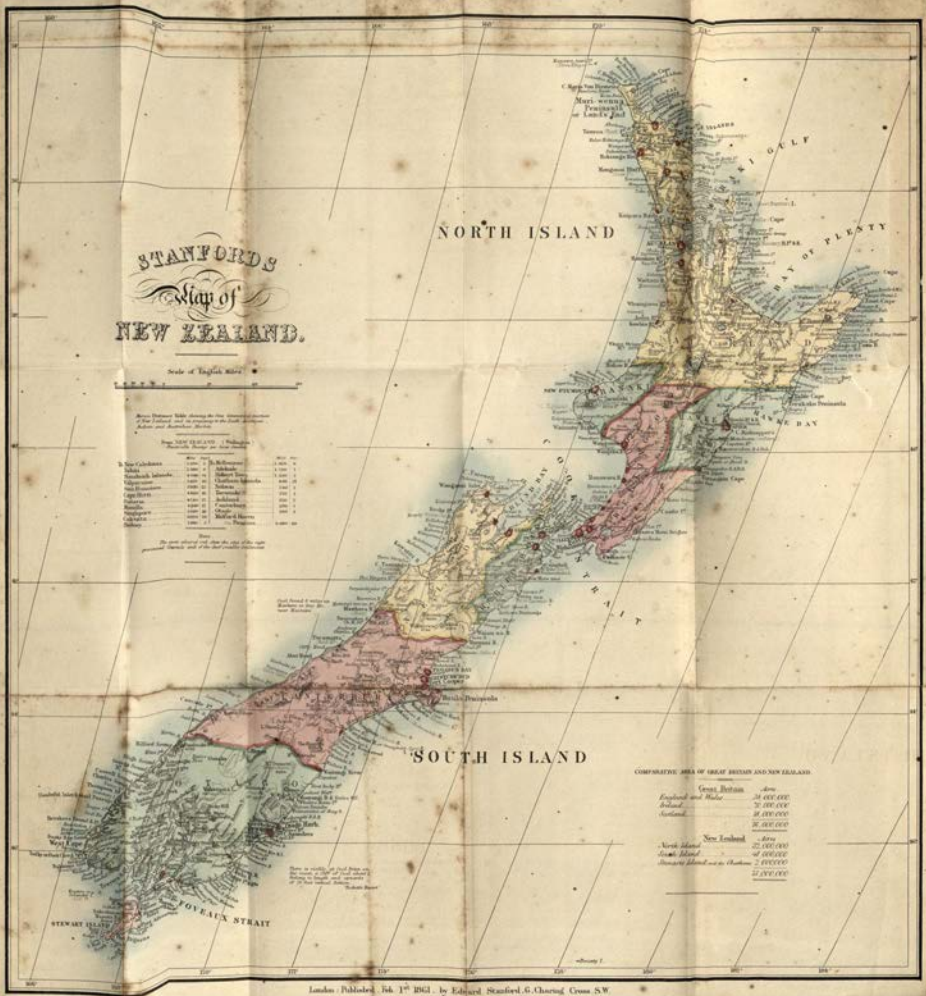


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# NEW ZEALAND,

THE

# "BRITAIN OF THE SOUTH:

WITH A CHAPTER

ON

THE NATIVE WAR, AND OUR FUTURE NATIVE POLICY.

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ac

BY

CHARLES HURSTHOUSE,

A NEW ZEALAND COLONIST, AND A VISITOR TO THE UNITED STATES, THE CANADAS, THE CAPE COLONY, AND AUSTRALIA.

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# DEDICATION.

DEDICATED to the New Zealand HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, in the hope that this young Institution—like its noble prototype the British House of Commons—will become the great paramount, governing power of the State: on the one side, shielding it from the arbitrary rule of Colonial Office Pro-Consuls—on the other, preserving it from the discordant legislation of its aspiring Provincial Councils.

"For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills: a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig-trees, and pomegranates: a land of oil, and olive, and honey: a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack anything in it: a land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass."—DEUT. viii. 7—9.

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"I willingly admit that the interests of New Zealand are recommended to us by many considerations. I look at the extent of the Colony, at its line of coast, at the quantity of land in it capable of cultivation and improvement. I *look, above all, at its position, and the new importance which it has acquired by the events which have been passing in the Pacific, and by the opening of the trade with China.* I agree with the Noble Lord (Lord John Russell) that there appears every probability, that New Zealand, if its interests are duly regarded, and its welfare fostered, is destined to occupy a most important station in the world. I agree that its relation to this country is most important. Surveying the unoccupied portion of the globe, I know of no part of that globe more calculated to afford a profitable field for employment to the superabundant population of this country."—*Sir Robert Peel, Prime Minister, in the great House of Commons' debate on New Zealand Affairs, June* 19, 1845.

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## CHAPTER I.

Any remarks which the writer of a book might offer on his personal history, his private career, would generally, I think, be deemed obtrusive. The philosopher, the historian, the novelist, seek to instruct or amuse us—but they do not ask us to risk life or fortune in any new pursuit. We read their works with profit or delight—but we still keep our money in the funds, open our shops, go round our farms, or pursue the even tenour of our way, and pleased with the Author care nothing about the Man. But in works on emigration it is not so. Here, one object of the writer is to root us up, and transplant us to some new Land, perchance ten thousand miles away from the Land of our birth; and, here, we may well want to know who and what the person *is* who would subject us to such a process, to know whether he is sincere in what he says, whether he has ever practised what he preaches, and himself taken the bitter tonic he would prescribe.

In the hope that at the outset I may to some extent gain the confidence of my readers by satisfying them on these points, I shall here take leave to mention so much about myself as may have reference to emigration, and shall venture briefly to relate how it was that I ever became a Colonist, and how it is that I hope to become one again.

Lincolnshire graziers for generations, we had once a nice little estate there; but times went wrong with us, we were a decaying family, emigration seemed the only medicine to work our cure; and when about nineteen I was despatched to America, partly to see what America was like. I looked about for a year or so, in

the Canadas and the States, and though I thought some of the western districts were fine lands, yet the four months' bitter winter they were subject to struck me as being bad both for man and beast; and when I reached home again, a family council voted that our Emigration to America would be a mistake, and that we had better try and struggle on in the old country rather than go farther and fare worse in the new.

Some while after this, however, New Zealand began to be talked of: a brother of the present Peer, Lord Petre, had written a capital little book on the country; he was about returning there, too; and after some consideration a married brother and myself (I meanwhile having graduated as a carpenter) determined to go with him. On our way out, calling at the Cape to purchase horses, we were wrecked and being detained there some months we saw something of this fine African colony. On reaching New Zealand we bought a wild land and at once went to work on it. Here, ploughing sowing, reaping mowing, working harder perhaps than many a day-labourer, we were occupied five years, during which period I was twice over in Australia—once bringing back sheep and cattle.

At the expiration of this period, liking the country as we did, and the early troubles of the young colony seeming pretty well over, it was thought that the time had come when certain other members of our family might safely join us. Being a bachelor myself, with no heavy baggage, no "impedimenta" to move about—if I may make so ungallant an observation—I returned to England, partly to start them off; and in the summer of 1854, my father and a party of some dozen brothers and sisters, and cousins and second cousins, sailed to join us in New Zealand.

Compelled to remain in England for a time, and not wishing to be idle, I partly employed myself in promoting New Zealand colonisation; and thus, brought into personal communication with numbers of emigrants of all grades and classes, acquired some further experience of the various requirements and details of emigration. At last, some little works which I had written on colonial and emigration subjects being rather favourably received by the press and the public, the "cacoethes scribendi" was inflamed; and having reason to believe that a plain practical book on New Zealand might interest a portion of the emigrant

public, I was induced to attempt the production of one. Feeling, however, that I could not satisfactorily perform the task without revisiting the colony and seeing for myself what progress had been made in my absence, I made a second trip to New Zealand. This time I visited all the chief Settlements of the Colony, and was much struck with the great progress which had been made during my absence. On reaching England again, my work was published, and met, I fear, with a better reception than it deserved; and as a second edition has long been called for, and as a trip to the Highlands has afforded time and leisure, when salmon are sulky and trout wont rise, to ply the pen, I have produced the present volume. A man who has spent a large portion of his time in seeing new countries, and in making war on the wilderness, cannot be expected to write with the force and polish of a "Times Leader" or a "Saturday Review." A colonist must content himself with writing not to be admired, but to be understood; and in this book I have sought only to use plain language, and to place before the public a fair and honest picture of New Zealand as she is to-day.

Certain private affairs, with which I need not trouble the reader, coupled with what I hope I may call a patriotic desire to promote the further colonisation of the beautiful country of my adoption, are still prolonging my stay in England; and it is not improbable that before I pitch my tent in New Zealand once more and for ever, business or pleasure may carry me thither on a third visit. But though the time of my final departure is uncertain, I may remark that it is my intention, ere long, to settle down in New Zealand, finally and for good—and there, away from east wind and income-tax, and the fret and fume of life's rough journey here, I hope to resume our old pursuits of the plough and the fleece, and to help a little more to develop the resources of that fine young country which so many of my friends and relatives have now made their home.

Having thus said a word about myself, I shall ask the reader to allow me to say a word about my book. Distrustful cronies of the intending emigrant may tell him to give no ear to what I say, because I have an *interest* to serve in saying it. I have; and what then? Is a person to be disbelieved because, and only because, it would *benefit* him were he to be believed? If

so, the business of the world would stop to-morrow. The family solicitor tells us of a good ten per cent. landed investment—do we discredit him and decline the bargain because he would pocket the conveyance-fee? The dentist advises our having a tooth out—do we turn away in agony because he would be paid for drawing it? Your wife's milliner holds aloft a new bonnet—does your wife refuse it because Madame La Mode would pocket a pound by selling it? In common with every colonist, I have an interest in sending population to our sparsely peopled country; for population, bringing with it capital and labour, puts money in our pockets and raises the value of every head of stock and acre of land we may happen to own. But I hold the belief—and on no light grounds—that in the United Kingdom there are thousands of struggling professional men, petty capitalists, farmers, traders, and the like, together with thousands of half-paid labourers and mechanics, who would be *saved* by timely emigration to any good colony like New Zealand, and believe, that though their going thither might benefit *me*, their going thither would *most* benefit *themselves*. But though I am thus interested in seeing emigration flow to New Zealand rather than to America or elsewhere, I am equally interested in seeing all people who are unfitted to succeed in New Zealand prevented from going there. For if a person who may be unfitted for our colonial life is simple enough to be led away by those brilliant pictures which are sometimes presented to him and should go to New Zealand he will frequently either write back such dismal tales of the country he has been allured to, or will find his way home again and give so "revengeful" an account of what he has seen and done and suffered, that a dozen people in his neighbourhood who might get to hear of him and his fate—people, perhaps, who were thinking of New Zealand and who were admirably fitted to succeed there—might be so disheartened by his tale of disappointment as either to abandon the idea of emigrating altogether, or to turn from New Zealand and proceed to some other colony in which their faith had not been so rudely shaken. Thus, though many people have, I dare say, gone to New Zealand partly through me, many have unquestionably been kept from going there mainly by me; and whenever I am

consulted by any one who seems to me personally unfitted for our New Zealand life, I—and from the strongest motives of self-interest—at once plainly tell him so, and counsel him to stay at home.

It has been asserted, by practical men who have seen New Zealand after visiting other colonies, that, if common good government from the first had spared those early disasters described in the following chapter, the physical advantages of the young country, her soil and climate, her *natural* gifts, would by this time have attracted to her a population of a quarter of a million of the flower of British emigrants. Though, however, the deplorable misgovernment of New Zealand in her first days terribly crippled her progress and inflicted calamitous losses on her pioneer settlers, it has produced a counter, a *beneficial*, effect in making her a better emigration field for those who are emigrating now. Had it not been for this early misgovernment, the population of the colony might have been five-fold what it is, when, necessarily, there would have been a five-fold appropriation of the best lands. Families emigrating to New Zealand in 1861 will find a population sufficiently large to have subdued the roughness of the wilderness—to have established society and social institutions—to have founded several thriving Settlements—and to have raised annual exports to the value of nearly a million sterling. But they will *not* find a population sufficiently large—as in the United States, and in the older emigration fields of Canada and Australia—to have taken the cream of the country by monopolizing town and village sites, garden valleys, water privileges, and the crack agricultural "estate-creating" lands. The present population of New Zealand amounts to but a handful of 80,000 colonists, scattered over a country almost as large, and by nature certainly as fertile as the United Kingdom; and millions of acres, equal to the production of thirty bushels of wheat, or the grazing of five sheep per acre, are yet without trace of plough or fleece. The occurrence of the native disturbances described in the last chapter is much to be lamented. But we must remember that these affect only the north island, and that in all human probability these, ere long, will effectually and for ever be put down. Indeed, in a few months I trust we shall be able to

liken these "native disturbances" to the thunder-storm, clearing the political atmosphere of the north, and producing for the Auckland and New Plymouth emigrant of 1861 such welcome fruits as good land and plenty of it, clear titles, and good laws.

The opinions I have expressed, both in the following pages and elsewhere, as to the folly of those who would split New Zealand into a dozen rival little settlements to be governed by a dozen fractious little Parliaments, have made me many enemies both among "Provincialists" in the colony, and among the various agents and employés of our Vestry-Governments who from time to time are despatched to this country; and for a person so unimportant as myself I have not, I think, been at all neglected by many of my fellow settlers in the matter of detraction and abuse. Happily, however, I am not an over-sensitive man, and can pursue the even tenor of my way less affected, perhaps, by my provincial unpopularity than I ought to be. As one utterly unconnected with Local Governments, Companies, or Associations —as one making no figure in public meetings, shows, demonstrations, or deputations,—I feel that in my own plain way I have done more to popularize New Zealand as an Emigration field, *more to send her capital and labour*, than perhaps any one individual who has ever taken part in the colonisation of the country. I know, too, that many of the views expressed in this volume will ultimately be the popular views; and I cannot but hope that the time will come when all my fellow Colonists—Centralists and Provincialists, private and public—will admit that in my long-continued but unpretentious advocacy of the young interests of our common country I have "done the state some service" and not worked altogether idly and in vain.

In conclusion, I have only to remark, that if there be any New Zealand information which the reader may think is not to be found in this volume, and which he would like to obtain, I should be happy to attempt to supply it, either by giving him a personal interview, or by replying to any first questions he might wish to put to me, sent to my town address, 5 Charing Cross, London.

*Pannanich Lodge,*
*Ballater, Aberdeenshire.*
*Oct.* 1, 1860.

## CHAPTER II.

### HISTORICAL SKETCH.

Between 1520 and 1610 the Spaniards made several voyages from their South American possessions in search of a Great South Land, the Terra Australis Incognita, "an exceeding rich gold countrie and fair land of diamonds and precious stones," which the old explorers and ancient mariners of those times fondly hoped to light on some day in the South Pacific.

In 1605, Pedro Fernandez de Quiros and Luis Vaez de Torres started on one of these voyages and discovered the islands now known as the New Hebrides. Here, in a storm, they parted company. Torres sailed north-east, and coasting New Guinea, discovered and passed through those dreaded straits which still bear his name. Might not Quiros, holding on south in continued search of the gold land (the realised "Diggings" of two centuries later) have been the real discoverer of New Zealand? At least, it is fairly conjectural that New Zealand was first discovered by some early Spanish navigator, inasmuch as there exists a remarkably correct Spanish chart of Dusky Bay, of very early date; and Dusky Bay was not a place which Tasman, the recognised discoverer of New Zealand forty years later, appears to have visited. Those who would here exalt the Spaniard and dethrone the Dutchman may further urge that the natives assert that the dog was not brought to New Zealand by their emigrant ancestors, but was introduced by some "strange ship" which once visited their shores; and that as "perro" is the Spanish, and "pero" the New Zealand word for dog, there is some ground for supposing that this "strange ship" was a Spanish ship.* Frenchmen, too,

* Too much weight, however, has been given to this evidence of words. It is said that perro or pero is a word evidently foreign to the Maori language. Now one Maori word for dog is kuri, the other péro, or péropéro. But there are many words like péro, such as the verb péra, to be like that;

have claimed the honour of the discovery of New Zealand for an old French explorer, Captain do Gonville, in 1504; and the confused description this worthy gives of a certain "strange land," which he visited in his wanderings is perhaps more applicable to New Zealand than to any other South Sea country with which we are acquainted.

Whoever, though, may have been the European navigator who first stumbled on New Zealand, the honour of the true authentic discovery is due to the Dutch commander, Abel Jansz Tasman. Whilst the Spaniards were searching the South Seas for the great "gold land," the Dutch were prosecuting voyages of discovery in the same quarter, and partly with the same views. In August, 1642, Antonio Van Diemen, governor of the Dutch East India Company, despatched Tasman from Batavia with the yacht Heemskirk and the fly-boat Zeehaen, on a voyage to the south. This quaint little squadron, steered by dogged Dutch courage and, probably, well found in breeches pipes and Schiedam, achieved great things with small means. Some three months after its departure it leisurely discovered Van Diemen's Land; and then, steering due east, on the 13th of November again fell in with land, which proved to be the south-west coast of the middle island of New Zealand.* Tasman coasted north-

peráro, a shellfish; pére, a sling; pérepére, to clear away weeds. Ka tuku nga péru a to kotiro, the girl pouts with anger. At the same time it is only fair to Columbus' countrymen to add that the word péro, péropéro, is generally applied to a hungry-looking half-starved dog, a little fact which favours the assumption of a Spanish-introduced dog. For it is reasonable to suppose that a runaway dog or dog sent adrift from any of the old ill-found exploring tubs of the Spaniards would not be a fat dog in easy circumstances, but a stunted dirty ill-fed cur; and as such animal was called "perro" by the strange men who left it, the natives took the new word and applied it to all thin dogs in future. Further, the New Zealand dog bears a closer resemblance to some degenerate European mongrel than it does to the dingo of Australia, or to any indigenous wild dog known to the naturalist.

* The little squadron did more than this, though—in addition to Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand, these ancient mariners discovered the Friendly Island, Prince William's Island, and several portions of New Guinea. This rich discovery of new countries appears to have been owing in part to the stimulus afforded by the hopes of reward. At a council held on board the commodore's ship, it was resolved to keep watch continually from the mast-head, and munificently promised that whosoever should first discover land, sand, or banks under water, should receive a "pot of arrack and three reals."

wards and on the 18th anchored in a small bay which he named Massacre Bay (Nelson), from an affray he had there with the natives. He then proceeded along the northern coast until he arrived at the low promontory forming the north-western extremity of New Zealand, which he named Cape Maria Van Diemen, in honour of his patron's daughter, the fair Vrow Maria Van Diemen, whose substantial charms seem to have touched the stout commander's heart. He then set sail for Batavia, quitting the new Land, without, as he says, having set foot on its shores, and naming it Nova Zealandia, after the Dutch province of Zealand.

In 1768, George the Third, at the instance of the Royal Society, despatched Lieutenant Cook to Tahiti, for the purpose of observing the transit of Venus. From this service Cook proceeded on a voyage of exploration through the South Pacific; and on the 6th of October, 1769, descried land which proved to be the east coast, 38° south, of the north island of that "Nova Zealandia" discovered by Abel Jansz Tasman more than a hundred years before. During this and four subsequent visits, Cook circumnavigated the islands, and made an excellent survey of a large portion of the coast—repeatedly anchored in Queen Charlotte's Sound—named many of the principal mountains, bays, and capes—held a great deal of friendly but guarded intercourse with the natives—and took formal possession of the country in the name of King George.

Our illustrious circumnavigator was a signal benefactor to New Zealand. He introduced the pig and other of our domestic animals, the potato and various European vegetables and seeds. Up to his time New Zealand had been but a semi-fabulous "Terra incognita"—his excellent survey of the coasts and full description of the country gave it a local habitation and a name, fixed its place on the map, and paved the way for the merchant and the missionary. He formed a high and remarkably correct opinion of the capabilities of the country for European settlement. His report of the genial climate, fertile soil, fine harbours, and evergreen forests, excited considerable interest in England, and so captivated the practical mind of Benjamin Franklin that the American philosopher published a proposal for the colonisation of the new Land.

Shortly after Cook first arrived in New Zealand, coasting northwards, he one day passed a bay which he named Doubtless Bay. Singular to relate, a few hours afterwards, Captain de Surville, of the French exploring ship St. Jean Baptiste, ignorant of Cook's presence in these seas, anchored in this very bay, and named it Lauriston Bay. De Surville had been despatched from the French possessions in India, in search of that rich "Gold Land" before alluded to; and which, as rumoured in India, the English explorers had at last discovered somewhere in the South Pacific. De Surville was hospitably received by the natives; but, suspecting them of having stolen a skiff, he landed a force, burnt down the village, and carried the chief off to sea, where the poor prisoner pined away, and soon died. About three years after this, a similar French expedition, commanded by Marion du Fresne, touched at New Zealand and anchored in the Bay of Islands, hard by the scene of De Surville's violence. The natives received their visitors with apparent delight; but when, after some weeks' intercourse, Marion, four of his officers, and twelve men, had gone ashore on a fishing excursion, the natives fell on them, and murdered all but one man, who escaped to the ship. The French naturally avenged their comrades, landed in force, destroyed several of the inhabitants, burnt their villages, and departed. De Surville's painful mode of revenge, and the severe chastisement which this retaliatory murder of Marion brought on the natives, rendered the Weewees (oui oui), or people of the tribe of Marion, hateful to the New Zealanders for the next half-century. Indeed, the semi-civilised descendants of the actors in these bloody scenes even now regard the French with aversion; and it is partly owing to this cause, and, as some perhaps would add, partly to their smaller stock of blankets and tobacco, that the French Catholic missionaries are less successful among the natives than their Church of England and Wesleyan brethren. Cook's fifth and last visit to New Zealand occurred in 1777; in 1791, Captain Vancouver anchored in Dusky Bay when on his voyage round the world; and in 1793, Admiral D'Entrecasteaux touched at New Zealand in his search for the unfortunate La Perouse.

In the course of Cook's explorations in these new seas he had discovered a spot of the Australian continent which he had

named Botany Bay, and it appears to have been partly through his official report of this locality that the government of the day were induced to commence the system of transportation. In 1788 it was debated in Parliament whether Cook's New Zealand or Cook's Botany Bay should be the site of our first penal colony. New Zealand escaped the perilous distinction; possibly on account of fears entertained that the existence of her ferocious cannibal population might prove incompatible with the safe keeping and probationary discipline of the prisoners, and that in some fatal outburst of the cannibal passion, convict, governor, and guard might undergo the common lot, prematurely, in the native oven.

Though, however, New South Wales, and not New Zealand, was chosen for the penal colony, the fact of the discovery or rediscovery of the two countries, and the taking possession of them by the same great explorer about the same time, the circumstance of their thus becoming known to the European world almost simultaneously, their position and proximity in the same seas, seem to have established a certain connection and intercourse between them even from the earliest days. New South Wales was founded in 1788, and in 1794 we find the second governor, Captain King, visiting the Bay of Islands for the purpose of taking back two natives who a few months before had been carried over to Norfolk Island in the hope that they would teach the convicts of that place the native mode of preparing the New Zealand flax which flourished there; and Captain King, like Cook, distributed his presents of pigs, maize, potatoes, and seed-corn. Indeed, New Zealand, by virtue of Cook's discovery, surveys, and ceremony of taking possession, was long regarded as a quasi-possession of the Crown, a dependency of New South Wales, and in 1787 was formally named as such in the Royal Commission of the governor of that colony.

This geographical and official connection was soon cemented by commercial intercourse. It seems very early to have been discovered by the pioneer settlers of the convict colony that New Zealand was a much finer agricultural country than New South Wales. The domestic animals, the grain, and vegetable seeds, introduced by Captain Cook, Governor King, and succeeding visitors, had wonderfully thriven: it seemed probable

that the meat, and maize, and potatoes of New Zealand might ere long relieve the penal colony from a recurrence of those partial famines which had already been experienced. Spars and flax, "preserved human heads," and other native curiosities, were also to be procured in New Zealand. The cooler, moister, breezy climate, was particularly grateful to the English settler scorched up by sun and drought on the arid rocks of Sydney. A trip to New Zealand and back was a fine restorative, a welcome escape from the monotony of convict life and the clank of the chain-gang. The dusky daughters of the land were worthy of the Cytherian Isle; and forty years ago the bold Trading Adventurer of Sydney would set sail from Port Jackson and square away for New Zealand with high hopes of profit and of pleasure—of bartering his bale of blankets, case of trinkets, dozen muskets, or keg of tobacco, for twenty times its value in native produce; and of finding chiefs' daughters, slave-girls, and all the beauty of the island, ready to compete, like those on Ida's piny top, for the "golden apple," in the shape of scarlet blanket, blue round-about, bead necklace, or bright shawl.

There was *one* drawback to this early intercourse between the two young countries: the trader who carried his wares to the New Zealand market might be eaten there. The Hesperides of the Pacific was guarded by no mythical monster—a real cannibal dragon, with good teeth and great swallow, kept watch and ward there. Cook, though he had pronounced the natives a fine race, had proclaimed them cannibals. Evidences of their ferocity and brutal appetite for human flesh had been terribly manifested. Captain Furneaux, Cook's consort, had rendezvoused in Queen Charlotte's Sound, had sent a boat ashore one morning as usual among the natives; some trifling quarrel had arisen, every man of the crew had been killed and eaten. Marion's provoked fate was known in Sydney. In 1807 a vessel had been taken by the east-coast natives; the entire crew, with one exception, had been killed and eaten. In 1809 had occurred the "Boyd Massacre," when, in revenge for the flogging of a native sailor, some fifty Europeans, crew and passengers, had been murdered at Wangaroa. In 1816 the brig Agnes, of six guns and fourteen men, was stranded at

Poverty Bay—all the crew, save John Rutherford, were killed and eaten.* Indeed, the day the races met the Anglo-Saxon saw he had found a dark-skinned *Man*—no slave Negro, clumsy Kafir, pig-headed Hottentot, emasculate Hindoo, or soft Paphian islander nourished on bread-fruit pap; but a black Scandinavian of the south, a very clever and ferocious savage, who ate the dog and shark, who drank blood, who scoffed at death, and who any day in the year would fight his enemy to the death for the prize of the corpse to feast on: a fierce but shrewd pagan, wont to procure his food and enforce his rights by the "argumentum baculinum," the meri and the war-club.

Trading to New Zealand, therefore, in these early days, however profitable, was somewhat perilous; and was chiefly confined to those bold or amorous spirits of the young Australian community who would lead the forlorn hope of commerce, and beard the dragon in his den for the booty or the beauty which lay beyond.

By degrees, however, many of the perils which loomed round the New Zealand shores disappeared. Familiarity with the Maori proved him to be less black than he had been painted. Cannibal savage as he was, it soon appeared that he had much in common with a nation of shopkeepers; that he was a keen trader, having a most lively appreciation of the advantages of commerce, and shrewd enough to see that the practice of *eating* his merchant would restrict trade, limit imports, and be a most witless killing of the goose for the golden egg.

Sydney's Knight-Pedlars, therefore, soon found that they were safe enough in New Zealand. Shielded by blankets and tobacco, they bore a charmed life. A few of them took up their

* It is not charged on the natives that they were always the first aggressors in these and in the many minor affrays which occurred between them and their visitors in the early days of intercourse, spreading over a period of a quarter of a century, from 1795 to 1820. Many of the rude, embruted, whalers sealers and sailors who first visited the New Zealand shores, richly deserved the fate they provoked. But after making a wide allowance for this, abundant evidence still remains to prove that the New Zealander of those days was a ferocious cannibal, capable of the most revolting atrocities; whilst if we care to go into the question of who struck the first blow—Natives or Europeans—we find that whilst Tasman was peacefully offering to trade with them they treacherously cut off one of his boats and slew four of his men.

residence in the country, embraced chiefs' daughters, gained a smattering of the language, stuck up rude trading huts, collected flax, maize, and native produce, for some partner or employer in Sydney; and became the pioneer bush-merchants of the wilderness—each a herald of civilisation, each a small oasis in the desert of barbarism.

Ere long, too, it appeared that New Zealand was in the very centre of the finest sperm-whale ground. As early as the year 1800 sperm-whalers had begun to fish off the coasts, and enter the dock-like harbours for wood and water. In the course of a few years, shore-whaling parties were planted on various parts of the coasts by Sydney houses; and a considerable trade was created in supplying these stations with stores, and in shipping back the produce of the fisheries. In 1805 Mr. Savage, an English surgeon, first took a native to England, and from time to time others were taken to Sydney, and employed on board the whaling-vessels. In 1814 the Church Missionaries appeared, and strengthened the feeling of security which had grown up through trade.

Thus, the terrors of New Zealand cannibalism, fears of wrecking, robbery, and murder, gradually died out. The natives were still ferocious cannibals, but they now practised only on each other, the trader was too valuable for the oven; and by 1820 little groups of white men (traders, whalers, sailors, sawyers, missionaries, and missionary retainers) had squatted down among the natives, chiefly in the northern portion of the North Island, and had exhibited the first development of that irregular colonisation of the country which in a few years was to fester to a head at Kororareka.

The year 1820 is chiefly remarkable in the early annals of New Zealand history, as being the year of the first visit of any distinguished native to Great Britain. And to show what manner of men the fathers of our present natives really were, I shall venture to delay the reader a moment with a little episodical sketch of this first visit, and of the man who made it—the cannibal herald of that inevitable traveller of Macaulay's, who, one day, is to stand on a broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's.

In 1820 Hongi, chief of the Ngapuhi tribe, New Zealand's

cannibal Napoleon, accompanied Mr. Missionary Kendal to England. The purpose of his journey was thus written down at his dictation by Mr. Kendal:—"I wish to see King George, the multitude of his people, what they are doing, and the goodness of the land. My desire is to stay one month in England, and then to come back. I wish for 100 people to return with me. I want a party to dig for iron, a number of blacksmiths, a number of carpenters, and a number of preachers who will try to speak in the New Zealand tongue, so that I may understand them. I want twenty soldiers to protect the settlers, and three officers to keep the soldiers in order. The settlers are to take cattle over with them. There is plenty of spare land in New Zealand, which will be readily granted to the settlers. These are the words of Hongi."

This was Hongi's missionary expressed wish—it seems to have been somewhat a cloak to his real wish. This converted sheep, which brother Kendal was leading about in missionary strings, was slightly the wolf in sheep's clothing.

On arrival, Hongi became a lion. His fine port, tatooed face, and conversion, created a sensation in a hundred drawing-rooms. George the Fourth gave him a suit of armour, and various admirers presented him with guns and other gifts. The soldiers, the royal coat of mail, and a certain great elephant seem to have pleased him most. He resided some time at Cambridge to assist Professor Lee in drawing up a New Zealand grammar. He ever preserved his dignity as a great chief of the highest "moko," but was always courteous and affable to the Howards and the Veres who entertained him. Like Cæsar, Antony, Alexander, and other regal "dogs of war," he seems to have been rather a ladies' man; and was so sensitive of female criticism, that at a party once, when some fair critics were making merry at his tatoo, he threw himself on the floor, buried his head, and remained recumbent till the company had departed.

On leaving England, Government provided him with a passage to Sydney on his way home. The men to dig iron, the smiths and carpenters, all the pleasant words which Mr. Kendal had put down, seem to have been forgotten when the ship sailed; but the powder and the double guns were carefully

packed up and carried off. On reaching Sydney he took up his residence with his friend, Mr. Marsden, the venerable founder of the New Zealand mission; and here he met Hinaki, a neighbour chief, on a visit to Sydney. It seems that whilst Hongi was in England, one of his Ngapuhi had been knocked on the head by some connections of Hinaki's tribe. Welcome "casus belli!"—here was a chance of finding food for the new powder,—of testing the virtues of the double guns and the royal suit of armour. Poor Hina'i sued for peace; but he was the lamb in the fable, the wolf meant to eat him. Hongi wanted war, and how great Hongi now went to war, and how he sped in war, shall be told in the words of the Rev. Mr. Taylor. For this gentleman's account of a distinguished missionary savage is substantially correct, and it affords unwitting evidence of a fact, which Exeter Hall and missionary societies have long refused to see—namely, that our vaunted conversion of the heathen is often a conversion of the flesh rather than of the spirit—an awakening to the merits of blankets and tobacco rather than to the merits of Timothy and St. Paul.

Hongi was always a warm friend to the missionaries: missionaries brought him to England, missionaries welcomed him on his return from England; we may imagine with what pride missionaries exhibited him in their circles, and how they would make him draw at subscription sermons. He knew that missionaries brought trade to his country: no man dare molest missionaries while he lived—yet how little he was a converted heathen; how little, or, as some would say, how *much* he was a true missionary Christian, may be gathered from the following portrait of him, painted at page 312 of "Te Ika a Maui":—

"In vain did Hinaki try to persuade him to make peace; they sat at the same table, slept under the same roof, and sailed in the same ship, and no one would have supposed they were enemies. Hinaki, finding that Hongi was in earnest, and that there was no prospect of his making peace, hastened home, and assembled all his forces to resist the invader; who, having given his enemy time to prepare, soon made his appearance at the head of three thousand men, determined to turn the deadly gifts he had received to account, without loss of time. Although the tribe he went to attack was related to his own, still the

pleasure of trying the efficacy of his military stores prevailed over every other feeling. The battle, however, was for a long time doubtful. Hinaki was a man of noble form, and determined courage, and, though fighting on unequal terms, he still maintained the combat, until Hongi, arranging his men in the form of a *cuneus*, or wedge, and placing himself at the apex, directed his men to wheel round to the right or left according to circumstances: at last he shot Hinaki, who did not fall until he had received four balls. His savage conqueror rushed forward, and with his English clasp-knife he scooped out the eye of his expiring enemy, and instantly swallowed it. He then stabbed him in the neck, and drank his warm blood, as it gushed forth from the wound.

"Hinaki had two brothers, who were likewise killed, one being nearly as noble a looking person as himself; the other a youth of about twenty. Their bodies were eaten, and their heads embalmed as trophies of victory. About one thousand men were slain, and three hundred more were cooked and eaten on the battle-field. So complete was the victory, that the place has never since been inhabited. It now belongs to the Bishop's college, being part of its endowment. Hongi returned to the Bay. Each canoe was filled with his captives, and had several heads of his enemies placed at their stems and sterns by way of ornament. Hongi had twenty prisoners on board his canoe, whom he intended to retain as slaves. But his daughter, who had lost her husband in the fight, with dishevelled locks rushed down to the water's edge as the canoe touched the shore, and seizing the sword presented to her father by the King's own hand, jumped on board, and smote off sixteen heads of the poor captives, who, without a murmur, placed their necks over the side-board of the canoe. Twenty more were also killed and eaten; yet the frantic woman, not thinking that the shade of her husband was sufficiently appeased with this sacrifice, went into the bush with a loaded musket, and there shot herself. The ball, however, only passing through her arm instead of her head, she was still alive when found; but, determined to accompany her husband to the Reinga, she afterwards strangled herself.

"Hongi had no sooner finished one expedition than he pre-

pared for another. He quickly assembled a thousand men, and proceeded with them to Mercury Bay, to make war upon the tribes of that district; ordering another army of two thousand more to be raised and to follow him. Success again attended his arms; and, flushed with victory, he next attacked Kaipara, where he made a great slaughter. In 1822 he again visited the Thames and the Waikato, and ascended the Waipa, where he took several large pas; thence he nearly penetrated as far as the Wanganui—in this expedition he slew fifteen hundred of his enemies.

"In 1823, he attacked Rotorua, conveying his canoes by water as far as possible, and then dragging them by a road he had cut through the forest, to the lake. Here again he was victorious, and slew many. He continued every year his hostile raids, first to one part and then to another, always with success. His name spread terror wherever he went. In fact, he became the Napoleon of New Zealand, and declared, when remonstrated with by the missionaries, that he should not desist until he had subjected the entire island to his control; that as England had but one king, so likewise there should only be one in New Zealand. But as there is a bound to all human glory, 'Hither shalt thou go and no further,' so it was with Hongi. He fulfilled the Scripture: 'He that taketh the sword, shall perish by the sword.'

"In 1827 he declared war against Tara, and the tribe which massacred the crew of the *Boyd;* making that an excuse for his ambitious designs. In the beginning of 1827 his men plundered and burned the Wesleyan Messionary Station, which had been commenced at Wangaroa a year or two before. They told the missionaries, 'Your chiefs have fled; all the people have left the place, and you will be stripped of all your property before noon; therefore, instantly begone!'

"It appears, however, as if this was to be the termination of his success. His only redeeming act had been the preservation of those who came to raise his countrymen;—*immediately he put forth his hand to injure them, he fell!* He killed or dispersed 'the man-eating tribes,' as he termed those who cut off the *Boyd*, although the epithet was, perhaps, far more applicable to himself; for he appears to have surpassed all who had gone

before him in the number of victims he and his followers had consumed. Twenty only of these man-eaters escaped;—they glutted themselves with the slain, sparing neither woman, nor even suckling child. The remnant of his enemies fled to Hunahuna, a village near the Maungamuka, where they made a stand. Hongi, who had ensconced himself behind a tree, stepped forward to take aim, when a ball struck him: it broke his collar-bone, passed in an oblique direction through his right breast, and came out a little below his shoulder-blade, close to the spine. This terminated his fearful career; for though he lingered a full year, the wound never healed. When he breathed, the air escaped through the orifice with a hissing sound, which he made a subject of merriment.

"He received his wound in January, 1827. On the 6th of March, 1828, the life of this remarkable savage terminated. In his last hours, so far from attending to the words of the missionaries, he urged his followers to prosecute the war, and exterminate his enemies. When Patuone visited him, a day or two before his death, and told him he was dying, he said, 'No, I am not dying: my heart is quite light. I am not dying.' The next day he fainted, and was supposed to be dead. When he revived, he said he should die, but not until the morrow. He ordered his powder to be brought to him, and when he saw it, he said to his children, *Ka ora koutou*,—you will be safe; intimating the powder would be their protection. He then summoned his sons, and gave the coat of mail he had received from the King of England to one of them; and then divided his battle-axes and fire-arms amongst them—sternly demanding, 'Who will dare to attack my followers after I am gone?'

"Early next morning, though evidently sinking fast, he continued to rally his friends, and said, 'No matter from what quarter your enemies come, let their numbers be ever so great, should they come here hungry for you, *kia toa, kia toa*, be brave, be brave! Thus will you revenge my death, and thus only do I wish to be revenged.' He continued repeating these words until he expired.

"Patuone, as soon as he heard that Hongi was dead, bade his followers sit still, whilst he and a few of his friends went to see

the corpse, lest Hongi's people should be alarmed, as they had blockaded all the entrances to the pa. At first he was refused permission to enter, until Hunaroa interfered; he found one of his sons binding him up, his head still reclining on his breast. When the body was fully dressed, and the head richly ornamented with feathers, all the obsequies due to so great a chief were performed. His family, fearing an attack, wished to bury him at once, but Patuone said, 'Why all this haste? You will be the first to bury your father alive: let him smell before you bury him: what if he does smell?' Yielding to this advice, he laid in state for two more days, which were spent in repeating the *pihi*, or funeral ode, in cutting themselves, in crying, and firing off guns. In the meantime, Hongi's friends arrived from the Bay of Islands, who, with the Hokianga natives, formed a large procession, when this savage warrior's remains were carried to the *wahi tapu* (sacred place), amidst the mingled din of the *maemae*, or funeral dance, the dismal *tangi*, or wail for the dead, and peals of musketry; an apt termination for the life of one whose supreme delight was war, and to whose ear the dying groans of his enemies were the sweetest music."

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During the ten years in which Hongi and his northern raids were thus the chief features of the History of New Zealand, trade and intercourse with New South Wales materially increased. The Church missionaries extended their establishments, the Wesleyans commenced operations at Hokianga, shore whaling stations were planted in Foveaux Straits, sealers sought their spoil in Dusky Bay and along the rugged coasts of the south-west, whilst the visits of American British French Bremen and colonial whalers to New Zealand harbours for the purposes of recruiting and refreshing, had become so considerable a business that as many as fifty sail had been counted at one time in the Bay of Islands—busy bartering oil tobacco spirits arms and powder, with traders and natives, for spars wood water pigs onions and potatoes. The reports carried home by many of these whaling visitors as to the fine harbours and forests of magnificent kauri spars and ship timber, the glowing accounts of the fertility of the soil, spread about by the

trading squatters and passing visitors from Australia, the uniform testimony of the missionaries as to the bracing salubrity of the climate, seem now to have revived in England that desire for the regular settlement of the country which Cook and Franklin had excited half a century before. In 1825 a company, including among its members the late Lord Durham, and supported by Mr. Huskisson the President of the Board of Trade, was formed in London for colonising a portion of New Zealand; and a piece of land for the pioneer settlement was purchased at Hokianga by the Company's agent, Captain Herd. Sixty settlers were sent out in 1826; but on landing they were so terrified at the sight of a war-dance, and at the tales told them of the native fights ever raging in their locality, that most of them left the country, and Lord Durham's first attempt at colonisation proved signally unsuccessful.

Though, however, the regular settlement of New Zealand by emigration from the mother country was still to be deferred for a season, that irregular colonisation alluded to as having commenced about 1820, had attained such dimensions and displayed such repulsive features by 1831, that some governmental measures were deemed necessary for its repression.

Kororareka, a fine harbour in the Bay of Islands, in the midst of a large native population and the missionary stations, and long the favourite rendezvous of the whalers and Sydney traders, had from the first been the chief seat of this irregular colonisation; and a more lawless little Pandemonium than this village port of Kororareka had grown up to be by 1831 neither old nor new world had, probably, ever seen. The most reputable of its denizens were trading adventurers from a convict colony, whilst the bulk consisted of runaway sailors, "Lags," gaol-birds, and scoundrels of every mark and brand, from Sydney and Van Diemen's Land. The floating population of the place was worthy of the resident: convict skippers and ticket-of-leave mates of Sydney traders, with rude embruted crews of whalers and coasting traders, all rushing ashore for a "spree," and running ferociously festive "mucks" until they fell. Every second house was a grog-shop, and the population might have been divided into those who sold rum and those who drank it. Sterne's Uncle Toby relates that our army swore terribly in

Flanders. But the common conversation of Kororareka displayed a boldness and originality of figure, drawn from the whaler's forecastle and the chain-gang, a malicious heartiness of ribald damning, infinitely beyond the powers of our army in Flanders. Convict training and antecedents, blasphemy and the debauchery of drunkenness, were all intensified by debauchery in women. Dark Helens, aboriginal Messalinas, swarmed in Kororareka. Every resident kept a mistress, every visitor came for one. Native women were as common an article of barter between chiefs and whalers as native pigs; and to the daily fights and quarrels which arose in such a community through rum and whiskey were to be added those which arose through the passion of jealousy and the disputed possession of the slave girl. There was neither magistrate * nor policeman at Kororareka, neither law nor order nor gospel; every ruffian, and there were many, did what seemed good to him; and in 1831, this New Zealand village port was the veritable "Alsatia" of the Pacific, dashed with a convict Wapping. This lawless colonisation of the country, too, was spreading, and many of the little whaling stations in Cook's and Foveaux Straits, and on the east coast, were little other that budding Kororarekas, promising a full bloom.

The Missionaries, utterly powerless to turn or stem this flood of vice and violence which had flowed into Kororareka and which bade fair to desolate the entire country, induced, in 1832, various chiefs of the neighbourhood to petition the British Government for some protection and repressive aid.

Bearing in mind that New Zealand for a quarter of a century had been a recognised dependency of the Crown where the Crown had exercised acts of sovereignty; recollecting that a large amount of British property was at stake, the whale fishery increasing, and ships of various nations constantly visiting the ports; recollecting that the Colonial Office professed vast sympathy for the natives and must have seen that if Kororareka

* The men occasionally empowered by the New South Wales governors to put J.P. to their names in New Zealand were, for the most part, rude squatters or petty traders themselves; mere magisterial Dogberrys, without a constable to execute a warrant; and who, for all purposes of enforcing law and order, might as well have written themselves P.P. as J.P. Indeed J.P. in New Zealand was generally read Judge of Pigs.

were not reduced to order fifty Kororarekas might grow up to exterminate the natives with powder, fire-water, and disease, and to convert New Zealand into the semi-piratical pest of the Pacific—bearing all this in mind, the answer which the Colonial Office made to this appeal affords an amusing instance of that crass and ludicrous stupidity which this department of State had ever been remarkable for exhibiting.

All that New Zealand wanted at this epoch was a sloop of war for Kororareka, with a good magisterial commander (some Selfe or Yardley with epaulettes), and a hundred marines, with a brig tender to look round monthly among the coast whaling stations. Such a force would have been at once a powerful government and police, would have reduced Kororareka to instant order, repressed any budding lawlessness in the little communities on the coast, and scared the "convict element" out of the country by the mere display of the cat and the handcuff. All that the Colonial Office sent, was a pleasant gentleman named Busby, who arrived in May, 1833, and who was to enforce the discontinuance of murder rape rapine manslaughter and the like pursuits of Kororareka by residing there and calling himself Consul—Consul accredited to the Missionaries!*

Happily, poor Mr. Busby's life was *not* taken by the marine desperadoes and turbulent outcasts to whom the Colonial Office had offered his throat. Indeed, his office and appointment seem to have provoked the felon humour. He became a public joke. The very natives whom he came to save likened him to "a man of war without guns;" and Kororareka, *with* its paper consul, remained exactly what Kororareka had been without him.†

* British governors of New South Wales had made magistrates in New Zealand up to 1825, if not up to 1830; and this appointment of Mr. Busby as "consul" was the first official act by which the Colonial Office, stultifying its past proceedings, disclaimed the British sovereignty of the country, which had been acted on in virtue of Cook's discovery and surveys.

† Indeed, to give the reader some idea of the state of the country at this period, to give him an instance of that love of trade which has ever distinguished the native race, and to show him that almost twenty years of missionary teaching, whatever it had done to *convert*, had not done much to *christianize* the natives, he should understand that in 1832 it became

Our quasi-consul's office thus proving an idle sinecure he turned his attention to diplomacy. Though New Zealand had been a recognised dependency of the British Crown for nearly half a century, it seemed to Mr. Busby, and to certain Church Missionary gentlemen and Scripture readers with whom he had allied himself, that the sovereignty of New Zealand was a gem in the British Crown which the Colonial Office did not care to keep. In alliance, therefore, with the Missionaries he brought about what, between them, they styled sometimes "The Confederacy of the thirteen northern chiefs;" sometimes the confederacy of the "United Tribes of New Zealand;" and then coolly asked the Colonial Office to abandon all British claim to New Zealand and to recognise such "Confederacy" as the sovereign power of the State. It was about this time that the Colonial Office, seized with what has been termed its "pious fit," commenced that anti-emigration alliance with Missionary societies, Aborigines-protection societies, and Exeter Hall, which it maintained for so many years, and which proved so disastrous to both races in New Zealand. Indeed, from 1830 up to 1845, the Colonial Office received its inspirations from these bodies, and its true designative style and title during this period should have been the Colonial (Missionary) Office.

Seeing that New Zealand was a country as large as Great Britain and Ireland, inhabited by numerous distinct independent and for the most part hostile tribes, this Missionary confederacy of a few chiefs in one corner of the North Island no more represented New Zealand, or the sovereignty of New Zealand, than a confederacy of the people of Cornwall would have represented Great Britain. But a missionary body having prayed our Colonial (Missionary) Office to abandon New Zealand to this missionary "Confederacy of thirteen Chiefs," the Colonial (Missionary) Office at once complied; and, acting

necessary to prohibit the exportation from New Zealand of "preserved human heads"—evidence having reached the Colonial Office that the natives frequently murdered their countrymen in order to get their heads to cure and preserve as an article of barter with the Sydney traders. One of these heads was formerly to be seen at the Polytechnic, Regent Street. It was so admirably prepared that it was generally passed by as a piece of wax-work. But it was far more life-like than anything at Madame Tussaud's; and was a genuine New Zealand head, cured probably thirty years ago, and quite a pretty object to look at.

through Sir Richard Bourke, its governor in South Wales, even sent Her Majesty's ship Alligator to the Bay of Islands in 1835 to endow such Confederacy with a flag and to salute such flag as the national emblem.

Thus, New Zealand became a Kingdom; or, rather, a "No-man's-Land." Convict colonists and the sweepings of Sydney had *colonised* Kororareka; a dozen little communities were growing up to the south on the model of Kororareka; in the north there were the Sovereign Chiefs, so sovereign that had one of them ventured fifty miles from his village he would at once have been eaten by some repudiating subject; and in the north there was Mr. Consul Busby and his missionary court—and New Zealand was now prepared to become the splendid prize of any power which wanted a colony, or of any adventurer who needed a country and would found a throne.*

What was the real motive of the Missionaries in setting up this curious "confederacy," is impossible to say—but the position in which they had by this time placed themselves, and their subsequent proceedings, have enabled the world to guess. It appears that the Church Missionary gentlemen, who now numbered some thirty members, had come to like New Zealand. Kororareka was a black spot, certainly—but Kororareka was not New Zealand. The natives were still addicted to cannibalism and to preserving each other's heads,—but the natives were missionary Christians, attentive in chapel and not bad workmen in the glebe. The climate was delightful, the soil rich, native labour cheap, Sydney a cash market. Their lines had fallen in pleasant places. Liberal of their Society's converting blankets and tobacco, they had already acquired from their "Thirteen confederated Chiefs" some half million acres of land—12,000 acres as a little preliminary foundation for the Society, the Shepherd, at home, and the remainder for themselves. One gentleman of the fraternity had a loaf of 11,000 acres; another a fish of 50,000 acres; another a slice of 40,000 acres; their

* The loose hold which the Colonial Office had kept on New Zealand, this appointment of "Consul," or "Resident," and this repudiation of sovereignty, did in fact tempt a very worthy and amusing French gentleman, Mons. the Baron de Thierry, to invade New Zealand in a friendly manner and proclaim himself King.

able ally, Mr. Consul Busby, 50,000 acres.* If the Colonial (Missionary) Office could only be brought to recognise this snug little "Confederacy" of thirteen converted (land-endowing) Chiefs as the sovereign power of the country, to take it under protection and occasionally send a frigate to menace Kororareka and hang up two or three of the Confederacy's white desperadoes as a warning to the rest, if the Colonial Office could only be brought to do this, what might not the missionary ministers and advisers of the "Confederacy," and all their kith and kin, do and become in New Zealand? New Zealand might become a noble field for missionary enterprise, the exclusive paradise of the Saints, the Canaan of every pious bankrupt armed with passport from Mr. Danderson Coates and Exeter Hall. Godless storekeepers might be weeded out of Kororareka, and the power of trade, key to native obedience, placed in the hands of elect teachers of Sunday-schools; and thus Exeter Hall might come to boast a model colony where a Missionocracy gave both the law and the gospel, and waxed fat in the process; and where the heathen, true labourer in the field, could be pointed to as supplying both converts for the next world, and exports for this.

But

> "The best-laid schemes o' mice an' men
> Gang aft a-gley"—

an event was at hand destined to shatter all hopes of "tapuing" New Zealand for a missionary preserve.

In 1837, an association of gentlemen, including among its members the late Lord Durham and others who had been connected with the company of 1825, was formed in London for the purpose of colonising a portion of New Zealand with emigrants from the mother country. This association submitted its plans to the Colonial (Missionary) Office and duly sought

* Concurrently with these little transactions, our missionary friends grew alarmed lest unscrupulous Europeans should buy up the whole country and reduce the natives to beggary. To prevent which misfortune, the Rev. Henry Williams, in December, 1835, forwarded "a deed of trust of land belonging to natives" to the governor of New South Wales, and to the secretary of the Church Missionary Society, praying that the missionaries should be appointed trustees for lands which the New Zealanders wished them to preserve, to use the reverend gentleman's own words, "from the intrigues of designing men."

the favour of the Crown—but the Colonial (Missionary) Office had just committed itself to the "Confederacy of the thirteen Chiefs" and the missionary scheme. Lord Durham and his worldly confederates formed a rival body which might throw New Zealand open to tens of thousands of British emigrants, which might break up narrow monopolies, which might pull down the missionary dynasty and debauch the natives. Such a body could but become instantly obnoxious to the Colonial (Missionary) Office, and after many fruitless attempts to enlist this department in their favour Lord Durham and his associates were driven to act independently of it.

New Zealand, thanks to Mr. Busby and the missionaries, had been formally recognised as an independent sovereign State when His Majesty's ship Alligator had carried over and saluted her national flag in 1835. Sydney traders and adventurers, missionaries and missionary traders, had procured lands from the natives and commenced a lawless colonisation in the north—an association of British noblemen and gentlemen had surely as good a right to purchase lands of the natives and commence regular colonisation in the south.

In 1839, therefore, the Association despatched its pioneer expedition to New Zealand under the late lamented Colonel Wakefield. He succeeded in acquiring large cessions of waste land from the Cook's Straits natives, who were delighted at the idea that the lucrative trade which had long been confined to the hostile tribes in the north was now to be enjoyed in the south, and by the end of 1839 the Association's first settlement was successfully planted at Wellington.

British colonisation having thus been commenced at Wellington *despite* the Colonial (Missionary) Office it appears to have struck this baffled institution that in surrendering the sovereignty of the islands to Mr. Busby's "Thirteen confederate Chiefs" it had cast away a weapon which would have proved singularly useful in the work of stopping the new movement and of uprooting Wellington. And as it was now also discovered that France, utterly regardless of the thirteen sovereign natives, was actually planning an expedition to seize New Zealand for a penal colony; as Lord Palmerston, too, at the Foreign Office, who seems to have had a slight contempt for missionary diplo-

macy, was asking certain awkward questions as to Mr. Busby's feat and this French result of it, the Colonial (Missionary) Office now determined to try and *get back* that which it had just got rid of, and despatched a second "Consul" in the person of Captain Hobson, R.N. to procure from the natives the formal cession of the sovereignty of the country—with a contingent commission as Governor in his pocket in case he succeeded.

Captain Hobson, accredited by the Colonial (Missionary) Office to its old allies, Mr. Busby, the missionary landowners, and their confederates the "Thirteen sovereign Chiefs," experienced no difficulty in accomplishing his mission. A treaty called the "Treaty of Waitangi," drawn up by the missionary brotherhood, was signed by various "sovereign natives,"* under which, in consideration of being guaranteed their "possessions," for these might some day come useful for the missionary interest, various very independent natives transferred the sovereignty of the country to Queen Victoria, and with great alacrity declared themselves, and their host of absent friends and enemies, British subjects and black John Bulls. This precious document, this "Treaty of Waitangi," this grave State Paper, this blanket-bought-missionary Magna Charta, was signed by about five natives in a thousand, and was understood by about five in ten thousand; and if the people of Putney were to give England to the Pope, they would exhibit about the same amount of impudence, would arrogate powers, about as preposterous, as did this handful of Treaty-Signers when by mark of pen they made over what they were told was the "sovereignty" of their country to the Queen. But the ethics of our missionary landowners and their confederates who planned this Treaty must not be too closely scanned. Perhaps they did evil that good might come: the Treaty was their lease of power, and they would use this power not only in getting more land, but in making more converts. So poor Captain Hobson pocketed the document and pulled out his commission, took Auckland for his capital, and hoisted the British flag; and thus in 1840, just seventy years after Captain Cook had gone through a like ceremony short of the

* A blanket was sometimes given for a signature, and it was not every day that a ragged savage, "sovereign native" as he might be, could get a blanket for making his mark.

"Blanket Treaty," New Zealand *again* became a possession of Great Britain, and this time a *set* pearl in the British crown.*

Meanwhile the affairs of the Association had advanced: the bankers and merchants of London had urged the Government in its favour. Lord John Russell was now in power; and Lord John seems to have viewed the Association as a body which might be made nationally useful in promoting a wholesome emigration from the mother country, and in turning to account the barren wilds and wastes of the noble colony the empire had now acquired. The Association received a royal charter of incorporation, became a joint-stock body with a capital of 300,000*l.* under the name of the New Zealand Company; and in consideration of its surrendering to the Crown every pretension of right or title to all lands acquired under Colonel Wakefield's negotiations with the natives the Crown agreed to make over to it 700,000 acres of such lands for the purposes of colonisation.

Thus constituted and encouraged in a moment of official sunshine, the New Zealand Company prosecuted their enterprise with extraordinary vigour and success. Before the ink was well

* We so nearly lost New Zealand to the French through this missionary "coup diplomatique" that Captain Hobson had but just arrived at the Bay of Islands when a French corvette came in to take possession. Finding the British flag planted in the North Island, the French commander determined to try for the South, and hoist the tricolour at Akaroa. His design however was betrayed; when Governor Hobson—who whatever may have been his faults as a civil administrator was an able and quick-witted naval officer—hurried off the English sloop to Akaroa. The sloop arrived first, but so little first that I have somewhere read that she was only saluting the British ensign as the corvette dashed in. The French commander then abandoned the design of seizing New Zealand as a French possession, and landed the nucleus of his pioneer colony at Akaroa—as a friendly French settlement in British dominions. Akaroa remained a small French settlement for many years; numbering at one time some 200 settlers. Most of them have since removed to the rising French colonies in the Pacific; but Akaroa still exhibits pleasing traces of its founders in gardens famous for pear, and plum, and peach. If France had been a month sooner she would have gained a colony worth a hundred Algerias. A colony which would have made her mistress of the Pacific; a colony standing so before the doors of Australia that every wool and gold ship would have had to pass almost within sight of fifty French New Zealand privateer ports—ports amply large enough for the reception of the James Baines, Lightning, Marco Polo, and dozens of sister galleons, and offering unrivalled natural facilities for the building and equipment of frigate and line-of-battle ships.

dry on their charter of incorporation, they had extended their settlement of Wellington, planted the settlements of Wanganui, New Plymouth, and Nelson, and safely landed on the shores of Cook's Straits five thousand emigrants of a stamp better fitted to subdue the wilderness, and rough-hew the foundations of an infant state than any who had left the mother country since the days of the Cavalier emigrants of Delaware or the Pilgrim Fathers of Massachusetts.

Two elements of order and civilisation were thus at last introduced into the beautiful wilderness where nature had done so much and man so little—the Colonial Office (Missionary) government in the north, the colonising Company in the south; and the sad history of New Zealand for the next five years is but the history of the successful intrigues of the former institution to destroy the latter.

The Colonial Office of 1840 was a despotic institution—ruling colonies through governors and small officials, its obsequious tools bowing to its every caprice, and the heading of its every despatch should have been "Sic volo, sic jubeo, stat pro ratione voluntas." We have seen that in these days the Colonial Office was entirely under missionary influence. Its mere political head for a few months might sometimes be a man like Lord John Russell, deaf to the bray of Exeter Hall, and a friend to emigration. But the Under-Secretary, the permanent man who pulled the strings, was an all-powerful official deeply embued with the anti-emigration fallacies of aborigines-protection societies, and a violent missionary partisan. The New Zealand Company had snapped red tape; had forced this despotic missionary institution to undo a policy; to open New Zealand to British emigrants; to abandon the cherished hope of making New Zealand a missionary preserve. The New Zealand Company must receive a retaliatory lesson, and be put down. The executive instruments of the Colonial Office, the missionary officials * in the colony, were ready for the work. Indeed,

* This term is used to signify, generally, the gentlemen who, as advising-amateurs or actually salary-receiving officers, constituted the executive governments of Captains Hobson and Fitzroy. Every missionary was not an official, and every official was not a missionary. But they all echoed and typified the missionary policy of the Colonial Office, and were all deeply imbued with the "missionary spirit." This spirit notoriously ruled

these men had a strong pecuniary inducement to oppose the Company. They were land speculators—the auriferous stream of capital and labour was beginning to flow into New Zealand —*but it was flowing to the Company's young Settlements in the distant south.* If the Company's young Settlements could be swamped, if the emigration Pactolus could be diverted to the *north*, missionary lands, Auckland Town lots, might become diggings of the rarest yield!

Here, then, it would seem that there was sufficient of "animus" and "motive" on the part of the employers and the employed, to explain the cause of that strange and fatal opposition which the New Zealand Company was now to experience from the Colonial Office and its missionary executive.

It is not charged on the Colonial Office and the missionary party that when they commenced to hunt and to harry the Company they foresaw the fatal end of the chase; for huntsmen and quarry alike bit the dust, and self-preservation, if no better motive, would have induced them to draw rein sooner. Neither is it charged on them that in ruining the Company's enterprise, they wished to ruin the Company's emigrants. In fierce pursuit of the culprit Company, they trampled down the Company's settlers as unconsidered emmets. Herodotus tells us of a people who put out the eyes of their slaves that nothing might distract them when churning butter. But these people did not practise such custom because they hated slaves, but because they loved butter—and the missionary government did not desolate the emigrant's little field because it hated the emigrant, but because it loved revenge on those who *sent* the emigrant.

Every oppression and tyranny is carried on under some cloak-cry, or mask. Why the ferocious cruelties practised by the missionary on the hapless natives of Mexico and Peru?—the

the councils of the two first governors. Captain Hobson had been accredited to the missionaries; missionaries framed the Blanket Treaty; the original draft is in the handwriting of a missionary; and Governor Fitzroy was far more a missionary ruler than even Governor Hobson. Indeed, Capt. Fitzroy's bosom counsellor was a missionary catechist, a gunmaker by trade, who had been turned into what was called Protector of Aborigines, a Mr. Clark, to whom he once paid the dubious compliment of publicly declaring that he, Mr. Protector Clark, was worth any six of his other officers put together.

glory of God. Why Bomba's chains and stripes?—paternal government. Why negro slavery?—a necessity. Why skin the eel?—he likes it. Why the missionary ruin of the New Zealand Company?—the good of the natives! The cry of the Colonial Office and its missionary officials in their work of ruining the New Zealand Company was that they feared that the Company's colonisation of a portion of the wilderness would ruin the natives! Now, if there had been no colonisation of any sort; if New Zealand had been a virgin field untouched by the European; the natives an innocent race having had no contact with the white man; there would have been less of flimsiness in this plea. But even then it might have been urged with truth that, if the real object was to civilise and preserve a race like the New Zealanders, such object would be best attained by bringing the New Zealanders into harmonious intercourse with an industrial population of orderly British emigrants—new comers, who would teach the natives the arts of civilisation, introduce the plough and the loom, and by smooth example wean them from the cannibal barbarities of their savage life. But New Zealand was *not* a virgin field untouched by the white man—there was the Pandemonium of Kororareka, there were a dozen rising Kororarekas. True, now that the British flag was hoisted, the more repulsive features of this lawless colonisation might disappear. Rauparaha might never again boast of his 500 baskets of human flesh. Te Pehi's widow might never again tie an enemy to a tree, pierce his jugular, and drink his blood; there might be no more cannibal feasts cooked in ships' coppers; many a "lag" might fly and the blasphemous debauchery of Kororareka might be checked. But this lawless colonisation must always have remained radically bad, and it could not be stopped. Rude embruted whalers and sailors, peddling traders, and adventurers from the near-convict colonies of Sydney and Van Diemen's Land were everywhere spreading over the country. These men were everywhere becoming the teachers and trainers of the natives; and if the missionaries had not been blind they would have seen that the natives wanted other and different trainers, other and different models, those, in short, whom the Company, and the Company alone, could largely and effectually supply.

The peculiar means which the Missionary Government hit on for working out its designs on the Company, the modus operandi, was a very simple but very effective one. *It was to assume the illegality of the Company's title to the waste lands in Cook's Straits where they had planted their little Settlements, and to call on the Company to prove their title good, as against the natives, before a legal tribunal specially constituted for the purpose.* And the Missionary Government asserted that it was morally bound to set up such tribunal by virtue of the blanket "Treaty of Waitangi."

The second article of this missionary "coup diplomatique," guaranteed to the natives the lands estates forests fisheries and other properties which they might *possess;* and Lord John Russell describing this treaty some while after in the House says, "it asserts the rights of the natives to the property of which they are *possessed.*" Now what did *possess* mean here? —what was the true, the honest construction of the word? Did not possession of land here mean some beneficial occupancy and enjoyment of land? Surely yes. The New Zealanders were not a hunting people of nomad tribes roaming over the country in quest of game-food. They were a village-dwelling, man-eating, farmer-fisher people; subsisting on the produce of cultivated patches of kumera taro and potato, and on eels dog-fish and fern-root taken in the near vicinity of their villages. New Zealand was as large as Great Britain and Ireland. The entire population did not exceed some 80,000. Immense districts of teeming fertility, literally without an inhabitant, did not produce a mouthful of food for a single human being. The natives were not an *increasing* people—for a century past they had been a decreasing people. When they made their marks to the Blanket Treaty there were some seventy millions of waste acres in the country which they did not use and which, humanly speaking, it was certain they never would use.

Their "possessions," then, should, I think, have been construed to mean all their villages fortifications fisheries and cultivations; together with a block of the best land near every village (some 10,000 acres or so for every one acre they had in crop), as a noble, unalienable estate for their possible posterity. And the remainder of the available country (some three-fourths) should have been deemed the estate of the Crown partly as an

equivalent for the law order and security which the Crown would introduce; and partly as an equivalent for that lucrative trade which Crown colonisation would create, and for the immense pecuniary value which Crown emigrants arts and civilisation would in a few years confer on the native domains.

Even if the New Zealanders had been one united people with one custom of inheritance and one defined common law of property, this would have been the best, the most humane, construction of the treaty. But the New Zealanders were twenty independent hostile tribes who had waged ferocious wars with each other for centuries; who had chased each other from village to village, now advancing conquerors, now retreating fugitives; and whose "titles" to lands, to use an expression, were derived or lost through conquest, through re-conquest, through occupancy, through non-occupancy, through slavery, through accidental spilling of blood.* Here, it would have been doubly prudent and humane to have interpreted possessions in the sense of some "present occupancy." For to tell the slender remnants of the twenty tribes that all New Zealand was theirs *to sell*, was instantly to revive among them the bitter memory of those title-giving ferocities which had all but extinguished their race.

But no. The missionary officials gravely asserted that every

* Take this as an instance of one custom, say the "Blood Title." The passage occurs in the work of the Rev. Mr. Taylor.

"The shedding of blood was always considered a most serious thing, although but a drop were shed, and that too of a person in the wrong; from being before the aggressor he became the aggrieved, and required an atonement. As an example, if a man caught a person in his karaka grove stealing the fruit, he could demand compensation for the theft: but were he to strike the offender, and cause a single drop of blood to flow from a scratch, native law would adjudge the karaka grove to the thief, as a payment for the drop of blood. And were not the owner to resign the land to him, the tribe of the thief would feel itself called upon to maintain his right to it. A gentleman entering my house, knocked his head against a beam and cut his eyebrow, so that blood flowed. The natives present deplored the accident, and said that according to their law, the house would have been forfeited to him; and that as they were of his party, it would have been their duty to have seen it given up to him; as every one present was affected by his blood being shed. In the same way, even if a canoe should be dashed on shore in a storm, and the owner's life endangered, he thereby acquires a title to the spot he is thrown on."

one of the eighty millions of waste acres in New Zealand belonged to the handful of natives; and declared that as the New Zealand Company claimed a strip of the waste they would set up a tribunal to try whether such claim could be proved good *at law!* The New Zealand Company's negotiations with the natives for this strip of the desert had been carried on publicly with the full knowledge and consent of all tribes interested therein. Complying with the savage's idea of purchase, the Company had made the natives satisfactory presents for the land, and, thus, had purchased it. But the solid requital they made was the setting apart for the natives an equal-value tenth of all such land—an estate which in a few years might well have been worth a million sterling. The little portion of the wilderness which the Company asked for was not to be kept a barren monopoly until created a marketable prize by the enterprise and industry of others—it was for the busy field of fruitful colonisation; for the village, the school, the church, the plough, the fleece. The Company had planted four flourishing Settlements, and to crown this brilliant commencement of colonisation, "to make the desert blossom like the rose," they asked for 700,000 acres of the waste. The five-and-twenty missionary gentlemen had got nearly as much for themselves, alone—but the *Company* was a worldly interloper, and the Missionary officials humorously referred the Company to the "little tribunal" they had set up. This tribunal was called "The New Zealand Land Claims Court." An able, and as it afterwards proved much to the disgust of his employers a very independent, lawyer, Mr. Commissioner Spain, was to preside, hear evidence, and adjudicate on the *legality* of the Company's Cook's Straits purchases. And if the reader should think that no lawyer of ancient or modern days had ever a more hopeless task set him than that which here fell to the lot of Mr. Commissioner Spain, it is extremely probable that the reader would not be wrong. The Gordian knot which the learned commissioner had to unravel was simply this:—First, he had to define a New Zealand law of real property. To lay down for the New Zealanders what constituted their *legal* right to sell out of the many rights they set up. Whether the right were derived from partial occupancy of a district since the Hawaiian migration. If so, whether such right had not been

lost through the circumstance of some member of such occupant tribe having once been eaten by invaders from a hostile tribe. Whether, if such invaders *did* thus extinguish and gain a right, *they* had not in turn lost it to some third tribe who had submitted some of *them* to a similar process. Whether, if tribe A. had eaten most of tribe B. fifty years ago, tribe A. *had* or had *not* lost their right to such district because they had never *occupied* it; and whether, if they *had* lost it, the right lay with the remnant of tribe B. or with some members of tribe C. who had once caught eels there. Secondly—having settled the principle of inheritance and determined whether occupancy, conquest, re-conquest, cannibalism, or slavery, gave the *legal* right to sell, he had to discover in whom this "legal right" vested—to ascertain which of the half-dozen parties who *claimed* it, *had* it. Thirdly—having accomplished this, the learned commissioner had to frame a principle of "adequate payment;" to lay down whether the payment was to be goods or money—and whether 10*l.*, 100*l.*, 1,000*l.*, or 10,000*l.* Three-fourths of the witnesses would be excited savages giving contradictory evidence in an unknown tongue; and when the learned commissioner had struggled through the maze and pronounced judgment, it was infinitely less probable that the pack of disputants would bow to his decision, than that they would proceed to tomahawk each other before his face, and practically renew in court those slumbering ferocities which the court's inquiries had aroused. Such were some of the duties and responsibilities of the learned Land Commissioner, and his temper and judgment were soon to be tried. We have seen that when Colonel Wakefield and the Company's pioneers appeared in Cook's Straits as the heralds of English trade and intercourse they were warmly welcomed by the natives. The settlements of Wellington, Wanganui, New Plymouth, and Nelson, had been planted amid the acclamations of the Maori. The admirable plan of the "reserved tenths" gave general satisfaction. The natives flocked to the village-towns to barter their pigs and potatoes for the useful novelties of the stores; became amusing "helps" and odd-job workmen, took agricultural contract work, and presented every indication of settling down into a thriving portion of a civilised community. But the apple of discord was ripening hard by.

When the missionary gentlemen were seeking marks and crosses to their "Blanket Treaty" their emissaries were sent round the country to procure them, and to attempt to interpret the document to which such signatures were to be affixed. These emissaries came to Wellington and held long and semi-secret interviews with the natives. Soon after their departure a marked change came over the demeanour of the natives. *Now*, were first heard among them sneering expressions to the effect that the Cook's Straits white men were not the Queen's people, but "cookies." Natives, never heard of before, now began to come forward as owners of lands bought of others. Natives who could not deny the sale of land now murmured that in their private subdivision of the "utu" some had taken the lion's share —one family had marched off with the silver meant for two; A. wanting a dozen red blankets had got six blue; C. had carried off all the collar-shirts; D. coming for tobacco, had been gratified with frying-pan and jews'-harp; B. had lost his boots. Natives who had never been near a district for years now travelled back and demanded lands on which they found the settler. The "Waitangi Treaty" and their "possessions" were ever in their mouths—and hundreds of them were now only waiting Mr. Spain's arrival to start up with denials of the Company's purchases, with revivals of old claims, and with every device which the inflamed cupidity of the savage could suggest as likely to serve his great purpose of getting more gold and blankets from the white man who had plenty in the bank and the store, and who might bear considerable squeezing under the sanction of the Law.

Mr. Spain soon appeared, accompanied by certain missionary officials anxious to see justice done—his chief interpreter, general advisor, and the attorney-general for the natives being the son of the most active missionary-official in New Zealand. Under these auspices and recollecting the general preparedness of the natives to play their part, it is not necessary to say that the learned commissioner's court was instantly besieged by bands of defrauded natives vociferating for more "utu;" and threatening the settler with the tomahawk if more "utu" were not instantly accorded. Almost every acre of land where the settlements of Wellington Wanganui New Plymouth and Nelson

had been founded was now claimed back; and it seemed probable that the Company's Colonists after expending thousands in the work of colonisation would now be stripped of every waste acre of the wilderness which they had cleared and planted.

It would be tedious and repulsive to pursue the missionary and the savage through every barbarous maze and greedy wile displayed in Mr. Spain's court. Indeed, an event now occurred, the direct fruit of this court, so tragic in its nature, so pregnant with disaster, that the court during the remainder of its farciful existence becomes a mere shadow on the wall; and may be dismissed here with the glance of contempt and indignation it provokes.

One of the districts which Colonel Wakefield had purchased from the natives was the (Nelson) Wairau Plains. The seller was Te Rauparaha, an expelled outcast from a northern tribe who getting together a band of desperadoes had destroyed various of the Cook's Straits tribes and planted himself on their lands. His *title* to Wairau, was the massacre of the few Wairau families he had found there. But he never occupied the waste he made; he lived on the other island at the missionary-station of Waikanae; so that when Colonel Wakefield bought Wairau it did not contain an inhabitant. When Te Rauparaha heard of the coming Land Court he, like others, began to devise means of getting more payment. He decided to dispute the sale of Wairau. The Nelson surveyors were at work on the plain—he crossed the straits with an armed band, burnt down their huts and drove them off. They carried the news to Nelson. The Queen's magistrate issued a warrant for his apprehension on a charge of arson; and went himself, with Captain Arthur Wakefield two or three other gentlemen and some special constables to execute it. A collision took place. Six-and-twenty white men were slain. The Queen's magistrate and Captain Wakefield were murdered in cold blood after the affray was over. Te Rauparaha took to his canoes and fled back to Waikanae. The settlers at once armed to march on Waikanae and seize the murderer. The authorities at Wellington imperatively forbade the expedition. Missionary officials hinted that missionary law would support Te Rauparaha; and as Captain Fitzroy, the new

governor, was hourly expected on the spot, the friends of the murdered were coerced to wait.*

Captain Fitzroy, the missionary instrument of Lord Stanley's Colonial (Missionary) Office, arrived—received the missionary-official version of the Wairau massacre—proceeded to Waikanae—begged an interview with Te Rauparaha, which that worthy was good enough to grant—told him that he had done wrong in killing twenty-six colonists and in murdering the Queen's magistrate and a Queen's officer in cold blood—but told him that under the circumstances of the case he (British governor) would look the matter over, and only caution Te Rauparaha (missionary convert and British subject) never to do the like again!†

Captain Fitzroy's next act of administrative justice was performed at New Plymouth. Here, despite much hard swearing on the part of the natives and the legal aid of their Attorney-General, the learned commissioner of the Land Court decided against the natives, and awarded the Company and their settlers some 70,000 acres of land. Governor Fitzroy instantly reversed the court's award, and gave back the whole district to the natives; and after trying to break up the Settlement and move the people to Auckland, moved them into a patch of a few acres round the village, and left them stripped of their lands—a further warning to the white man, a further signal to the black.‡

* The Wellington pioneers would have deserved well both of the colonists and the Crown if they had locked up their missionary officials, marched on Waikanae, seized Te Rauparaha, and hung him on the spot. They were well able. They numbered hundreds of bold spirits and crack shots, there was no lack of fighting leaders; and as Mr. Jerningham Wakefield shows in his "New Zealand Adventures," and as every old settler of these days knows, hundreds of Te Rauparaha's native enemies would gladly have joined them. If this course had been adopted, missionary officials and converted natives would have received a "warning" that would have spared many of the troubles which afterwards occurred.

† Te Rauparaha and all the natives expected that the governor would at least demand the Wairau, in conformity with the native usage of "blood title." Te Rauparaha is reported to have said of him, after this pacific interview, "He paukena, te pakeha"—He is soft; he is a pumpkin.

‡ It was here, and the reader will probably think it was high time, that Mr. Spain virtually resigned his office, closed his court, and soon after re-emigrated to Australia. An idea of his judicial opinion of the character of these incited native claims may be gleaned from the following passage in one of his official reports:—

"One fact, however, that has every day forced itself upon my observa-

These proceedings stopped all further emigration from the mother country—every Cook's Straits settler warned his friends from a Land where there was no law, where life and property were insecure. The natives, triumphant from the murder of Wairau and the land victory their governor had won for them at New Plymouth, grew daily more insolent and exacting; and unquestionably at this period, nothing but the knowledge that they might proceed *too* far, that they might so disgust the white man as to drive him away altogether never to return except as a conqueror, and thus deprive themselves of that trade which gave them so many luxuries, prevented them from doing that which would have led to open collision between the races and probably to the utter destruction of every young Settlement the Company had planted. Many colonists now abandoned New Zealand; whilst the majority stopping all cultivation of lands from which they might any day be driven, and hoarding the remnants of their little means, kept themselves ready to re-emigrate to Australia, South America, or some island of the South Pacific where missionary misrule might no longer imperil their children's lives or the crazed crochets of aborigines-protection societies make the Settler the Serf of the Savage.

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The New Zealand Company, then, were virtually ruined—their scheme of independent colonisation was a wreck—the retaliatory policy of the aggrieved Colonial office had achieved a victory, and missionary-officials might sing "Io triumphe!" But the

tion, I think applicable to my present argument. I have travelled over a country where I found millions of acres of first-rate available land, upon which the human foot had scarcely ever trod, showing the capability of this country for maintaining a very large population; and it does appear truly lamentable that the present few inhabitants should be differing on the subject of land, where there is so much more of that commodity available for every purpose than can be required for centuries to come. I am clearly of opinion that, at the Hutt, Wanganui, Taranaki, and other places, the natives, attracted by European settlements, and feeling the advantages of bartering with the settlers, have come and cultivated land in the immediate neighbourhood of those places, which they would not otherwise have thought of taking possession of. Again, at Taranaki I found the natives little disposed to abide by my award, and offering various obstructions to the settlers, not because they wanted the land themselves, but merely to prevent the Europeans from making use of it."

triumph was short. The train had been carefully laid, the match applied; a great explosion had shattered the enemy—but a spark had lit another train, and now the engineer was "to hoist with his own petard."

Missionary policy had insisted that the handful remnant of the New Zealanders should claim every waste acre of the immense New Zealand wilderness—it had set up the Land Court, a revival of slumbering feuds and old ferocities — it had winked at the slaughter of six and-twenty Colonists by natives who were all but trespassers on the spot where the deed was done—in mockery of its own Land Court it had surrendered to the natives the garden of New Zealand, a waste Eden where the native had used no acre then, and where he has used no acre to this day. There was one speck of gold in the dross of the Waitangi treaty — the agreement of the natives to kill the land-shark by selling lands only to the Crown. The natives demanded that this agreement should be cancelled—Captain Fitzroy assented, and the Sydney speculator was again free to acquire disputed rights to millions of disputed acres. The Colonial Office proposed raising a small militia force among the hardy pioneer settlers and backwoodsmen of the bush —missionary officials replied that such a measure might be disagreeable to the natives—it was instantly abandoned. Petty robberies, trespasses, stoppages of roads, became daily occurrences: the magistrate could seldom *see* a native culprit—and one member of the Bench had already been murdered with impunity "pour encourager les autres."

A succession of public measures of this nature, the similar tenor of all private intercourse between the Missionary Government and the aborigines, had given the latter such an idea of their rights and privileges, had so puffed up and incited them, that they had come to regard themselves as the superior race and to sneer at the white man as an emigrant slave. They took all the advantages of trade and civilisation—but would part with no custom of barbarism. They would have the profit of law, but they would be above the law. The more yielded to them, the more they demanded; and history affords no instance of the character of a barbarous people being so vitiated by the unwise policy of a superior race as the New Zealander's

character was vitiated by the ten years' coddling and petting he received at the hands of his missionary protectors.

It was a favourite expression of these gentlemen to term the New Zealander a "child." Perhaps he was; and, to pursue the cradle image, he proved a child so long humoured in every whim by fond and fatuous parents that he would now smash the mirror, brain the cat, and stab the nurse. Or, to change the figure, Captain Fitzroy and his conjurors having raised the native devil in the south had now to lay him in the north; and were to eat in their *own* fields, the bitter fruits of the seed they had sown broadcast in the Company's.

Hone Heke, a distinguished missionary chief of the Bay of Islands, had long driven a thriving trade amid the lawless colonisers of Kororareka—bartering his pigs, potatoes, peaches, slave-girls, and native produce, with whalers and traders for powder guns blankets knicknacks and tobacco. The hoisting of the British flag at Kororareka, the introduction of some law, the imposition of customs duties, had sadly crippled this thriving trade, and driven to other shores many of the fishing freebooters who had long revelled on the beach. With the ships, went Heke's income. His mark to this Waitangi Treaty had created him a British subject—but it had created Customs, stopped the pig trade, and made beauty a drug. The British flag-staff symbolized the Customs. He cut it down. Smitten on the one cheek, Governor Fitzroy turned the other. By stroke of pen he abolished Customs throughout New Zealand;* when Heke, at the entreaty of his spiritual advisers, sent a note of apology. But whalers did not instantly come back; they had not heard of Customs' sudden death. Heke was impatient; he cut the flag-staff down a second time. Missionary authorities remonstrated and set it up once more, this time as they tell us, "sheathed with iron"—but not with majesty. Heke cut it down a third time; then burnt down the town and drove the

* Customs duties formed nine-tenths of the whole public revenue of the colony. Governor Fitzroy sought to replace them by a property-tax, and by taxes on stock and rooms of houses. But the colonists said, and truly, that they *had* no property. A considerable portion of their property in Cook's Straits had literally been destroyed by the governor's missionary policy. They pleaded, "no effects," and customs duties had soon to be resorted to again.

inhabitants to Auckland. Heke, almost an elder of the church, a chief, as a missionary author tells us, "distinguished for his knowledge of the Scriptures," actually burning down his Queen's towns! slaying and harrying Her Majesty's white subjects! Well might the missionary officials of the Privy Council exclaim, "et tu brute!" They offered 100*l.* for his head. Heke at once replied by offering 1000 acres of land for the governor's head—a high price, but Heke was always a liberal savage. Soldiers were brought over from Sydney; natives, old tribe foes of Heke and his missionary rebels, delighted to cross tomahawks with him once more, were enlisted as allies, and war burst out. Having long coddled our convert we had now to thrash him.

But the state of things thus brought about in New Zealand now began to provoke considerable indignation at home. This non-colonising, aborigines-protecting policy of the Colonial (Missionary) Office had been tried for many years—*what were its fruits?* The New Zealand Company was virtually ruined—the young Settlements it had planted were in process of abandonment, grass was growing in the newly-cleared streets and the little fields won from the wilderness were being given up to the dock and the thistle—many of the pioneer colonists were ruined, many had fled to Australia—trade, agriculture, emigration had ceased—the public revenue of the young colony had been lost—a tax on farm stock, a tax on rooms of houses, the old Spanish alcabala tax had been resorted to—a host of idle officials were clamorous for unpaid salaries—two shilling "assignats" had been issued—a wholesale murder had been passed over without even judicial inquiry—native acts of plunder, trespass, exasperating bravado, had been almost laughed at by the wretched authorities who disgraced the bench—the life and property of the white man were nowhere safe—the law was a mockery—and the missionary savages, the converted heathen, for whom all this had been done and suffered, for whom all this dirt had been eaten, had just offered a tempting reward for their missionary governor's head, and had struck the first blow of what might well become a merciless and exterminating war of races!

A grave petition from the Cook's Straits settlers and Company's colonists was laid before Parliament; a Select Committee of the House condemned Lord Stanley's missionary policy; and in the session of 1845, the whole case of the "colonisation and

misgovernment of New Zealand," was brought before the House of Commons in a three nights' debate. The lamented late Charles Buller member for Liskeard stated the case of the Company and the colonists, as against the Colonial Office and the missionary policy, in a searching and luminous argument, and was ably followed by Lord John Russell, Lord Howick, Mr. Aglionby, Mr. Hawes, Mr. Barkly, Mr. Mangles, the Right Honourable Edward Ellice and Richard Lalor Sheil. To shelter their colleague Lord Stanley, Sir Robert Peel's Ministry made it a Government question, and thus defeated Mr. Buller's motion—but only by a majority of 50 in a house of 400.

Though however the Colonial Minister was saved, his missionary policy was doomed.

Governor Fitzroy was recalled, Governor Grey from South Australia was appointed. Troops and a war steamer were sent out; and the long-suffering colonists were given to understand that missionary councils would be dispensed with—that though the treaty of Waitangi would be respected, Governor Grey would make every effort to procure waste lands and promote colonisation; and that even-handed justice would be dealt out to both races, and the native made amenable to the law. Governor Grey arrived in New Zealand in 1845. Mr. Protector Clark and the missionary gentlemen who had played so distinguished a rôle in the wrecking of the colony under the patronage of Governors Hobson and Fitzroy now shook the dust off their feet and departed to the farming of their fields and converts, and from this "dies faustus" New Zealand began slowly to emerge from her eight years' "slough of despond."

Governor Grey's first task was the due chastisement of the missionary rebels. Fresh troops were sent to the scene of action, some vigour was infused into the military operations, they had slightly languished under the generalship of the missionary officials, and Heke, besieged in his last stronghold, his crie of Ruapekapeka, was driven into the bush, and compelled to sue for peace; which, under guarantees for future good behaviour, was most clemently granted him.*

* Poor Heke's was not a warrior's end. One of his wives, a virago who, like her lord, seems to have been a missionary convert, and to have been christened "Harriet," is said to have given him a severe thrashing with a stake or pole, from which he never recovered.

Te Rauparaha and his principal bully or fighting general, Rangihaeata, since Governor Fitzroy's friendly chat with them on the subject of the Wairau massacre, had openly avowed their contempt both for the white man and the white man's law; and in hopes of being bought off, had proceeded to disturb the settlers, fire on the troops, and commit various acts of violence, in a new district on the Wellington river Hutt, to which they never even professed to have any claim, and which had already been twice bought and paid for. But these worthies had now to learn that all British governors were not missionary governors. Governor Grey, fresh from Heke's rout, came to the spot; proclaimed these murderers rebels to the Queen; proclaimed martial law; organised a mixed military force of soldiers, settlers, and friendly natives; made prisoner of Te Rauparaha; hung, shot and dispersed his band of desperadoes; and drove Rangihaeata to a distant part of the country.

A dastardly murder of a white woman and two children was committed at Wanganui by five up-river natives, on the evening of April 18, 1846. A friendly tribe pursued and took them. The able officer in command at Wanganui tried them by court-martial on the 24th, and hung them on the 26th. The up-river tribe came down to demand satisfaction. But after several skirmishes, in which more powder was burnt than blood spilled, their leading chief, Mamaku, was slain, and they retired in discomfiture.

Having thus chastised and educated the natives, and made himself at once respected and popular among them, Governor Grey turned his attention to civil matters. During his administration the whole of the South or Middle Island, and several valuable districts in the North, were effectually purchased of the tribes by Messrs. Mc Lean, Mantell, and other officers of the Crown, and thrown open for settlement. The natives were largely employed in Government works, road-making, barrack-building, and engineering. Hospitals were erected for them. Some were enrolled as policemen, others appointed native magistrates. The payments they received for land were frequently made in instalments of stock, and every encouragement was given them in the pursuits of industry and peace. Emigration began slowly to revive. The Company's settlements of

Wellington Wanganui New Plymouth and Nelson which had drooped so low, now began to expand and take firmer root. Otago, founded by an offshoot of the Company in 1846, slowly advanced; and Canterbury, founded by another offshoot of the Company in 1848, though planted on a false system which entailed many early difficulties, nevertheless proved a successful effort of colonisation, which drew much profitable attention to New Zealand. By 1850 confidence was pretty well restored, and trade, agriculture, and the public revenue of the colony had much improved. And though Governor Grey was somewhat wedded to that old despotic sway to which the Colonial Office had long accustomed colonies, he was unquestionably a wise and able ruler, under whose judicious policy the young colony, which had battled its way through such an Iliad of disasters, shook off, for a time at least, the "missionary incubus," and commenced a career of slow but solid progress, which she has steadily maintained up to the present day.

The New Zealand Company to whose parliamentary exertions the downfall of the Colonial Office missionary policy was mainly due; the Company which had preserved New Zealand from becoming the penal colony of France, and the foreign mistress of the Pacific, was not destined to share in the improved fortunes of the beautiful Land for which it had done so much. Its public repute and efficiency as a great organ of systematic colonisation was fatally damaged by the "eight years' insecurity of life and property" which missionary policy had inflicted on its early colonists. The emigrant world heard that emigrants who had bought lands of the New Zealand Company had often lost such lands, sometimes life and lands too. This was a death-blow to the Company's colonising power the effects of which no after expedients could avert; and it would have been well if when it had won for its colonists the great parliamentary victory of 1845 it had closed its labours, and entrusted the further colonisation of New Zealand to new and undamaged hands. But it attempted to proceed; and, after entering into some pecuniary negotiations with the Government which have resulted in saddling the colony with a serious debt, it found that the consequences of early misfortunes were too serious to be overcome, and in 1851 it resigned its functions to the

Government, and made over its various Settlements to the Crown.

In 1851 the Australian gold discoveries took place, and gave a marked impetus to trade, agriculture and every branch of industry in New Zealand. In 1853 the new constitution, described hereafter, was proclaimed, and the real government of the colony intrusted to the colonists. And in 1853, Sir George Grey, after a most useful career of several years in South Australia and New Zealand proceeded home and received the governorship of the Cape Colony; where he has found an ample field for the display of his peculiar tact in the management of savage tribes.

Lieutenant-Colonel Wynyard, commander of the forces, became Governor pro tem. on Sir George Grey's departure, and brought the New Zealand constitution into practical operation. Colonel Wynyard's rule of two years was a period of quiet progress; and, in 1855, this gallant officer was relieved by Colonel Thomas Gore Browne, the present Governor, who has been unfortunate enough to see the peace of the colony partially disturbed by the "native outbreak" at New Plymouth—an outbreak springing from a combination of causes in nowise chargeable on him—but who may hereafter console himself with the reflection that, during his administration, New Zealand made a signal advance in wealth, power, and population, and became a more attractive emigration field than she had ever been before.

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Such, I think, is a correct sketch of the leading features of the history of New Zealand, from Tasman's discovery down to the present day. The remarks on "missionary policy"—dictated by no feeling of rancour against missionaries, by no feeling of contempt for the rights of a savage race—would gladly have been suppressed in this second edition; for, in common with all colonists who have suffered from the misgovernment of New Zealand, I would now gladly bury the hatchet, and forgive and forget the many misdeeds of the representatives of Exeter Hall. But there are two reasons why the missionary intrigues which brought so much suffering on both races in the days of Governors Hobson and Fitzroy cannot yet be glanced over as mere incidental evils of the past, and the two reasons are these:—To those who are beginning to contem-

plate emigration, and who are weighing the advantages boasted by New Zealand, it is very frequently and very naturally a matter of surprise that so fine a colony as New Zealand is represented to be should not have succeeded in the twentieth year of colonisation, in drawing to its shores more than a handful of some 80,000 people; and, as a necessary sequence, doubts and fears arise that a country which has been so little able to attract or to retain population cannot be a country so good as is described. Hence, it has become necessary *still* to relate the history of the early and long-continued misgovernment of the colony; and to remind the reader that neither fine climate, nor soil, nor all the natural advantages of New Zealand quadrupled could be expected to attract population to the young colony whilst the young colony was staggering under the disasters of her first ten years.

But there is still another reason why the early doings of our political missionaries in New Zealand cannot yet be passed over in silence, and it is this:—It is true that since Captain Fitzroy's recall Missionary Societies, Aborigines' Protecting Societies, Exeter Hall, and various professional and unprofessional philanthropists, all of whom choose ever to depict the Maori as the poor prayerful black man hunted to death by the white, have been less heeded in Downing Street; and true that, of late years, the old Church Missionary party in New Zealand has tampered less in the affairs of state. But the snake is scotched, not killed. Late events, the publication of Archdeacon Hadfield's intemperate pamphlet, the missionary view of the rebel natives' title to Waitera, various recent "sayings and doings" of the missionary party show, that the old missionary spirit, despite the sad warning of the past, is still alive, and that the reverend disciples of Exeter Hall would *again* attempt to rule New Zealand by prayer-book and persuasion, *again* attempt to make the Settler the Serf of the Savage — and the bitter fruits this missionary government bore us in olden times are still noticed by me in the hope that seeing what these fruits were my readers will join with me in protesting against any second trial of that fatuous policy which proved so fatal in the first.

## CHAPTER III.

NAME.—POSITION.—SIZE.—PHYSICAL FEATURES.—GEOLOGY, ETC., ETC.

NAME.—It appears to me that the name which New Zealand bears is a very mean and sorry name. No man ever did less for any country he discovered than the Dutchman Tasman did for New Zealand. He came, saw, and left it. He never even set foot on its shores. It is doubtful whether he was even the first discoverer; and Cook, by virtue of his explorations, surveys, and descriptions, had far more right to name New Zealand than Tasman, even if Tasman, and not the Spaniard, was the true discoverer. The name, moreover, which Tasman gave, is the name of a flat little province of Holland, no more resembling New Zealand than a jelly-fish resembles the whale.

Two fresh names have been proposed—"Zealandia," and "South Britain"—and the latter might well, I think, be adopted. In great natural features—in size, in climate, in insular position, in duality of islands, in proximity to a great continent *—New Zealand bears a strong general resemblance to Great Britain; and these, her natural features, combined with her splendid harbours, and naval stores of timber, ores, and

* New Zealand lies about a thousand miles from Australia; and even with the powerful steamers which in a few years may be plying on our waters, the communication between the two countries will not be an average one of less than four days. It may be objected, therefore, as a portion of Europe lies but twenty miles from England, that in this "proximity to a continent" there is no resemblance between New Zealand and Great Britain. But such an objection would, I think, be hypercritical rather than just. Two countries lying within a hundred hours' sail of each other are, substantially, proximate in position. Looking to the future, too, may we not say that New Zealand, in being *further* off from a continent, is *better* off? Is not England too near France rather than New Zealand too far from Australia? If Cherbourg were a few days instead of a few hours' sail from our shores, might not England put off a large portion of her defensive armour?

hemp, point to a strong probability of her eventually becoming the home of an enterprising, sea-going people, who, in another century or so, may well raise her into the "Britain of the South."

Precedents for changing the names of our colonial possessions are common; Swan River has been changed to West Australia, Port Phillip to Victoria, Van Diemen's Land to Tasmania, Moreton Bay to Queensland. I think, then, that there are substantial reasons why this re-christening process might be extended to New Zealand; whilst, if we look to things esthetic, and come to contemplate her Majesty's sons or grandsons reigning over her Majesty's colonies (a dynastic arrangement worthy the attention of Lord John Manners and statesmen who study the picturesque), we must surely admit that King of South Britain would sound better at a St. James's congress of British sovereigns, than King of New Zealand—a title which might well incite waggish maids-of-honour to regale his Majesty with the song of the "King of the Cannibal Islands."

Unfortunate in her name as a country, New Zealand has been equally unfortunate in the matter of the naming of the *divisions* of her country. Under one of those happy inspirations which long distinguished the "how-not-to-do-it" policy of the Colonial Office, the three islands were officially christened New Ulster, New Munster, and New Leinster. The only reasonable suggestion ever offered as to the cause of this queer nomenclature is, that Captain Hobson, aided by some patriotic young Irish clerk of the Colonial Office, sought to create an antipodal Emerald Isle by stroke of official pen. Save that New Zealand produces a glorious potato, and does not produce a snake, New Zealand bears little more resemblance to Ireland, to Ireland alone, than to Crim Tartary or to Lilliput. Whilst, as to her being the *Irish* emigration field which these names would imply, I regret to say that the "Boys of the Shamrock," and their sweet Colleens are seldom seen in New Zealand. No land would suit them better; but, spite of priest or parson, Paddy still persists in being frost-bitten and liberty-bitten in the land of the "stars and stripes." Happily, however, this Colonial Office christening is gradually becoming a thing of the past; and, though "New Ulster," "New Munster," and "New Leinster," in common with

"Eaheinomauwe," "Tavai-Poenammoo," "Te Ika a Maui," and the like nomenclatural jargon, still disfigure some of our maps, they are now, happily, becoming names obsolete, or names current only with the map-engravers of Cockaigne. By the Constitution Act of 1853, New Zealand was divided into six great provinces:—Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago. Two more—Hawke's Bay and Marlborough—have since been added, and, as New Zealand delights to style herself the "Britain of the South," she will, probably, as her population increases, subdivide these provinces into Kents, Norfolks, Devonshires, Derbyshires, Cumberlands, Perthshires, Ayrshires, Tipperarys, and Tyrones.

CONFIGURATION.—New Zealand consists of two large islands, the North and the South, parted by Cook's Strait, a fine channel some 150 miles in length, by 50 in breadth; and of a small island, called Stewart's Island, rather larger than Hampshire, parted from the main by Foveaux Strait, a channel some 50 miles in length, by 20 in breadth, and of the Chatham Islands, a group lying about 400 miles due east of the province of Canterbury.*

The group, trending about north-east and south-west, extends from about 34° to 48° south latitude, and from 166° to 179° east longitude. The length of the country, from Cape Maria Van Diemen to the South Cape, exceeds 1000 miles. The greatest breadth, on the meridian of 38°, is about 200 miles; whilst the sweep of the coast-line embraces full 1000 leagues.

It has been estimated that New Zealand possesses an area of some 75,000,000 acres—about the same as that of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—and a rough apportionment of this area has been made as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Waste mountain ranges, broken forest tracts, coast sand-hills, lakes and rivers . . . | One-third. |

* A glance at the map shows, I think, that this is the best geographical definition of New Zealand. As compared with the two great North and South Islands, the third island is of such small extent as to be little more than an Isle of Man appendage. Geographically, we do not define this country as Great Britain and Ireland and the Orkneys and the Isle of Wight; but as Great Britain and Ireland. Again, the fashion of speaking of New Zealand as consisting of *three* islands, makes the large or true South Island appear the middle island, and thus invests it with certain attributes of centrality and superiority of position to which it is not fairly entitled.

| | |
|---|---|
| Cultivable forest and "light bush" lands .. | One-third. |
| Cultivable or pastoral *open* country; chiefly fern, flax, or grass-covered plains, valleys, and dales . . . . . | One-third. |

From the experience which has been gained in the working of a small portion of it, these 50,000,000 acres of available wild land might probably be reduced to cultivation, at an average cost of about 3*l.* per acre; and their mean productive capability, under even the rudest farming, might be taken as equal to the permanent grazing of four sheep, or to the growth of 25 bushels of wheat per acre.

Position.—New Zealand is popularly styled the antipodes of England; but the true geographical antipodes of Great Britain, the veritable "Ultima Thule," is an island called Antipodes, 700 miles to the south-east. The happy size of New Zealand, her defiant insular position, naval stores and harbours, fertile soil, and bracing breezy climate, may well crown her Island Queen of the Pacific, and future Britain of the South. Close to on the west, she has the busy marts and markets of Australia. Close to on the north, the thousand Polynesian Islands, slumbering in their summer seas, but needing only the magic touch of steam to open new worlds to our commerce. She stands on what will be the great Panama highway from Europe to the southern gold-fields. Within easy sail on the one side, she reaches the Dutch and Spanish colonies, China and our Indian possessions; on the other, California, Mexico, Chili, and Peru. She stands in the centre of the Austral Ocean, midway between ocean's greatest capes, Cape Horn and Good Hope; and so before the doors of Australia, that every wool and gold ship has to pass within sight of her southern shores.*

* The islets 60 miles south of Stewart's Islands (the Snares) belong geographically to New Zealand; and these form the land-mark which Australian homeward-bounders occasionally sight in running past New Zealand. The reader should understand that vessels bound to Australia and New Zealand *go out* by the Cape of Good Hope, and *return* by Cape Horn. This is mainly owing to the prevalence of westerly winds, which are so strong and constant between Australia and Cape Horn that no vessel could force a passage this way to Australia or New Zealand against them. In going out, a vessel passes Australia to get to New Zealand, which lies 1200 miles nearer the Horn; and of course, Australian vessels coming home have to pass New Zealand to get to the Horn. Thus,

TABLE OF DISTANCES OF VARIOUS PLACES FROM WELLINGTON (NEW ZEALAND), AND PRACTICABLE PASSAGE THERETO BY SCREW STEAMER. Compiled for Messrs. Willis, Gann, & Company's "New Zealand Handbook," by Captain John Foster, of the New Zealand passenger packet "Zealandia."

| | Miles. | Days. | | Miles. | Days. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| From Wellington | | | From Wellington | | |
| To New Caledonia | 1,250 | 5 | To Melbourne | 1,420 | 6 |
| Tahiti | 2,380 | 9 | Adelaide | 1,780 | 7 |
| Sandwich Islands | 4,060 | 14 | Hobart Town | 1,250 | 5 |
| Valparaiso | 5,420 | 20 | Nelson | 140 | 1 |
| San Francisco | 5,950 | 22 | Taranaki | 170 | 1 |
| Cape Horn | 4,850 | 16 | Auckland | 320 | 2 |
| Batavia | 4,750 | 17 | Canterbury | 180 | 1 |
| Manilla | 4,650 | 17 | Otago | 380 | 2 |
| Singapore | 5,050 | 18 | Chatham Isles | 450 | 2½ |
| Calcutta | 6,820 | 26 | Milford Haven, | | |
| Sydney | 1,260 | 5 | *via* Panama | 9,660 | 40 |

GEOLOGY.—The formation of New Zealand appears to have been volcanic. Mount Egmont, 9000 feet high, and many of the small mounts and conical hills in the north, and near Auckland, are extinct craters. Sulphur Island, Mount Erebus, tall Tongariro, and occasionally one of the Kaikora peaks, are still lively enough to smoke, and, occasionally, to flame; whilst volcanic action displays itself in the North Island in a chain of hot-springs, bubbling mud-pools, and solfatara, extending from Roturua to Taupo and the sources of the Waikato.

Shocks of earthquake are occasionally felt, but are confined chiefly to the corner of the country around Wellington. New Zealand being unassailable in climate, soil, size, position, and other natural gifts, the advocates of rival emigration fields have seized on her little "volcanic eccentricities" and gravely bid the emigrant—pause and remember Lisbon and Pompeii! Tastes, antipathies, differ; but, speaking from personal experience, I think on the whole that I would rather encounter two New Zealand earthquakes than one African puff-adder or half a Canadian winter. Still the shocks at Wellington, occurring it would seem about once in seven years, are somewhat severe,

*in going out*, New Zealand is virtually about 1500 miles further off than Australia, and *in coming back* some 1500 miles nearer. The Panama route, however, would make New Zealand some 1500 miles the nearest each way.

and the liability of the place to this septennial visitation affords, I think, a sufficient reason why Nelson rather than Wellington should be made the legislative capital of the colony.

"The country presents a very simple geological formation; the rocks entering into the formation of it being primary, metamorphic, volcanic, trappeau, and sedimentary; the last of a very recent date. It is remarkable that nowhere have any sedimentary rocks of the secondary period been discovered: in so far as the country has at present been elevated above the surface of the sea, the sedimentary rocks which do exist carry evidence, in their imbedded fossils, of their tertiary origin.

"At no very distant period, geologically speaking, New Zealand presented the appearance of a group of rocky islets, precipitous and barren, except in the ravines and gullies of the mountains; and this assumed fact must ever be kept in view in the endeavour to ascertain and understand clearly the geological history of these islands. It will much facilitate this clear understanding if, without confining our view to the New Zealand group alone, we look in a north-east direction through Norfolk Island to New Caledonia; both of which islands show a distinct geological and geographical connection with the New Zealand group, and present the same phenomena of the action of elevatory forces. That there is at present a general elevatory movement, extending from the Southern Pole over the whole southern hemisphere, is now a well-established fact. In this general movement, New Zealand undoubtedly partakes, and has moreover her own special elevatory forces continually going on. The action of these, combined, has been the chief if not the sole cause of the present physical aspect of the New Zealand islands. The Three Kings (a small group of islands) are at present separated from the North Cape by but a narrow strait; just as at no very great time ago the primary and metamorphic rocks, forming the bold headlands and mountains to the north of Auckland, were themselves a group of islands, separated by a strait from the lofty chain of rocks of the same character which stretch from Cape Colville southwards towards the East Cape. This strait was obliterated and the island made contiguous from the North Cape to Cape Palliser by the volcanic action which occurred where Auckland now stands;

and where from the number of volcanoes the elevation must have been rapid. From the wide dispersion of the volcanic vents, however, there has been no disturbance or tilting of the strata; it lies a soft argillaceous sandstone in horizontal strata. It is impossible to say whether or not the volcanic forces which at present slumber at Sulphur Island and at Tongariro, were contemporaneous in their primary action with those to the north. It is probable they were; but at all events it is certain that they have continued after the others have become extinct. And to the local elevatory force of the volcanic action as developed at Tongariro, superadded to the general elevatory forces already alluded to, must the present aspect of the province of Wellington, especially as regards its usefulness to man, be ascribed.

"In the middle and southern islands, where there are no evidences of any other than submarine volcanic action, and that of a very ancient date, the same phenomena of elevation present themselves in a marked manner; and in all cases as before remarked this elevation alone has made the country available to man.

"These elevatory forces, where they have been slow gradual but continuous, have raised the precipitous chains of mountains from the deep; carrying up with them as it were in their arms, those extensive plains destined to become the sources of wealth to a new colony. In the same way also, where there were shallow arms of the sea, and deep winding bays, the former by the elevation of a few feet have become fertile valleys, and the latter have had their dimensions contracted by the narrowing of the gorges at their extremities. In this way have the extensive plains of the middle island been formed, and that too at a period geologically speaking very recent. In this way also have the circular plains to the immediate south of Otago been formed—the first glance of them giving the idea of a bay just dried up.

"These general remarks apply in every way to the province of Wellington. Here all the proofs of recent elevation are very evident. They are to be recognised in the terraces so well defined on the flanks of the hills from Baring Head round the whole coast northwards to Hawke's Bay; and in the formation

of the Wairarapa Valley—which is but an arm of the sea emptied by elevation of the country generally, and so made dry land, in the same manner as would the harbour of Wellington become a grassy plain were an elevation of but fifty feet to take place. In Wellington Harbour, indeed, the elevation that has already taken place has formed (assisted by the débris from the mountains) the fertile valley of the Hutt; where each successive upheaval can be recognised at once by the consecutive layers of pumice-stone; which, erupted from Tongariro during the paroxysm, were floated down to the sea, and thus reached Cook's Straits.

"It is no very great period of time since the sea had a passage through Evans' Bay; the elevation of the sand-hills being very trifling between it and Lyall's Bay. The evident proofs which exist of this are strengthened by a native tradition to the same effect, which says that the communication was within the memory of man. But the most striking and convincing proofs of recent, and in some cases great elevation, are to be found in the fossil conchology of the Wellington district; proofs however by no means confined to it alone, but equally perceptible in other parts.

"At Wanganui (in the cliffs to the northward of the mouth of the river) there is a deposit of blue clay containing shells identical with those of the present day. Some of them are varieties of the species now existing: there a few of different species, but in general they are identical. At Shakspere's Cliff four miles inland, and a considerable height above the sea, the same deposit again occurs. On the flanks of the Rua Hine and Taurarua ranges, fossiliferous rocks again occurs; somewhat different from local causes, but still of the most recent tertiary period. Again at the head of the valley of the Wairarapa, the same shells appear. And again near Cape Palliser they have been found embedded in hardened blue clay, 200 feet above the level of the sea. The same formation exists in the middle island. At Motunau it is to be found forming cliffs on the sea-beach. On the flanks of Mount Grey 300 feet above the present sea level and ten miles inland is to be found in successive layers eighteen inches to two feet (five or six in succession) on the banks of the watercourses near the moun-

tains, blue clay, hardened, and then converted into limestone by the destruction of the shells of innumerable mollusca of the Mytillus Cardium Ostra and other families still abounding in the neighbouring seas. Here is a direct proof of a contemporaneous deposit being elevated over an area of between 300 and 400 miles in length. The province of Wellington, which lies between 39° and 41° 30′ south latitude, near its northern boundary, contains the great vent of volcanic action, Tongariro. From it descends, in an almost due south direction, the Rua Hine range lying almost in the very centre of the province; and from it again comes off the Taurarua range which strikes off more westerly to terminate at the Hutt Valley, and the Remutaka a smaller range which separates this from the Wairarapa Valley, terminating at Baring Head. Beginning at Tongariro, and regarding these ranges as the backbone of the province, a general idea of its formation may be readily obtained. The separation of these two ranges gives the peculiar character to the landscape about Wellington. The geological formation of these ranges may be simply stated as volcanic and trappean with some altered rocks. Those again which lie on their flanks, and have been elevated by a secondary volcanic action (as those in the neighbourhood of Wellington), are metamorphic clay slate, traversed here and there by dykes of trap; and this formation obtains universally. The same formation exists on the opposite side of Cook's Strait. Metamorphic clay slate, with bands of quartz permeating it, and in some places erupted masses of serpentine, being the universal formation.

"It has been already stated that elevation of the land has taken place to a considerable extent, and is still going on in the neighbourhood of Wellington. Thorndon and Te Aro flats are but elevations of what was once the sea bottom. Proofs of the same will be found on examining the coast line to Wanganui. All along the Porirua road the rock is yellow clay slate. Through the Honokini Valley it is the same. In the hollows and lower grounds near Porirua Harbour, a deposit of gravel, composed of fragments of the same rock, has taken place; but in no other rock or soil are clay slate, clay and alluvium visible. On gaining the sea beach at Pukirua, a range of spurs

of the Tararua range stretches along to the northward at various but short distances from the shore; gradually receding towards Otaki, Manawatu and Rangitikei, sweeping round towards the north of Wanganui, forming an approach to a semi-circle and leaving an extensive tract of fine country for the enterprising settler. That the sea once washed the foot of these hills there can be no reason to doubt. When we take the proofs already given of general and local elevation into account, we can easily see how these fine tracts of land have been formed. A small elevation of the hilly ridge which formed the sea coast would elevate the neighbouring sea bottom; the surge would throw up with the westerly winds a line of sand-hills; the elevation still continuing, the sea would still retire to again form another ridge of sand-hills; and so on, while the elevatory action lasted. And that in fact this did take place may be seen in the formation of the land in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Rangitikei River, where one land ridge after another succeeds in regular succession; but with this remarkable fact, that they are nearly at right angles to the present sea beach. This is to be accounted for by remembering that the hilly range which formed the coast line at Pukarua, is close to the present beach, receding and forming a curve, which formed the head of a deep bight, extending from Cape Egmont to Pukarua. The prevailing winds being north-west, this bight would most rapidly fill up on the commencement of the elevatory action at its narrowest most southern part; and the sea beach would gradually form according to the disposition of the sand ridges, they being dependent on the prevailing winds. And this is the exact state of the case; for the sand ridges which are so evident at Rangitikei as having once formed the sea face, are at right angles with the prevailing winds, or at any rate with the winds which exercised most force, viz., the north-west. To these causes, viz., gradual elevation and the force of wind and sea, is due the fine tract of land extending from Porirua to the northward of Wanganui.

"On the eastern coast from Hawke's Bay, the same proofs of elevation exist. The table lands and grassy plains are of the same origin as in other parts of the country, and the rocks of the same mineralogical character. It will be remarked that

this general view of the geology of New Zealand adopts the theory, that New Zealand is but a part of a great continent which has been submerged; that an elevatory movement has been going on for some long time past, the effects of which are very apparent in the elevation and formation of the tertiary sedimentary deposits into dry land; and that, although rocks of the "secondary epoch" have not yet been found, that there is no reason to doubt but that they may exist at considerable depths, and may yet be found cropping out near the sea coast."*

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SURFACE CHARACTER.—New Zealand may I think be called a "wooded-highland" country, displaying some half dozen noble plains, many a hill and mountain range, and thousands of brook-watered valleys, dells, and dales. But New Zealand differs from a highland country in one remarkable feature—that of natural clothing. The common, and perhaps for the most part the correct, idea of a highland country, is that of a naked, bare-looking Land of mountain stream and lake, where the soil is poor, and the vegetation scant. But in New Zealand the soil though light is often rich; and the fertility of the earth, quadrupled by the genial climate, literally produces a wilderness of vegetation. Sea-spray crags, shore-margins, plains, valleys, hill-sides, mountain-steeps, are alike clothed with perpetual verdure; and the expression "smothered in vegetation," is not a mere figure of speech when applied to New Zealand, but a term truly descriptive of the country.

Owing to the coast line of 3000 miles, and to the division of the country into three portions by the fine channels of Cook's and Foveaux Straits, New Zealand exhibits a multitude of bays, creeks, coves, estuaries and anchorages, and possesses some of the finest naval and commercial harbours in the world—though these are found rather in isolated groups than in equally dispersed order along the coasts.

Numerous wooded ranges of moderate elevation, and three snow-capped giants, Ruapehu, Tongariro, and Mount Egmont, 7000 and 9000 feet high, are found in the North Island;

* "Notes on the Geology of New Zealand," by Charles Forbes, M.D., R.N.; late of H.M.S. 'Acheron.'

whilst a chain of rugged forest ranges, displaying mountain peaks 12,000 feet high capped with perpetual snow, extends along the entire coast of the South Island from Cape Farewell to Dusky Bay.

One of the most striking natural features of New Zealand is the abundance of water, the blood of the earth, and of water power. Taupo is the only large lake,* and New River, the Clutha, Thames, Hokianga, Wanganui, Waikato, and Manawatu, are perhaps the only rivers navigable twenty miles up for anything larger than a canoe. But there are several smaller lakes; and the country from north to south is studded with rivers, rivulets, brooks, and burns of the softest, purest water, running over pebbly beds, and bearing a close resemblance to many of our trout and salmon streams, such as the Dove, Tamar, Deveron, Tweed, Don, and Dee.

Scenery.—The scenery of New Zealand is both bold and beautiful—though to an English eye, accustomed to trim fields, clipped hedges, and to the smooth-rolled, *finished* look of every acre in England, it would frequently appear more bold than beautiful. Indeed many a district would strike the Norfolk farmer, or the Cockney sketcher, whose ideal of beauty was the Holkham turnip-field or the highlands of Hampstead, with far more of amazement than delight. The scenery we admire in England is often the costly coat of art rather than the primeval dress of nature. As regards polish of cultivation, the garden's glories, the plough's court robes, New Zealand is much in the state that Britain was when Cæsar landed; and if Cæsar's Britain could now be shown us, many a bright champaign country which we call beautiful would vanish and reveal the gloomy forest and the rugged waste.

Bearing in mind the extent of the country, recollecting that the forests are equally verdant and leafy through summer and winter, and that the bright, breezy, light-and-shadow-casting character of the climate is peculiarly favourable to the display of natural beauties, I think we may say that in combination

* One or two considerable but unexplored lakes exists near the centre of the yet uninhabited inland country, forming the northern portion of the Otago province.

of those great features which constitute the foundation of fine scenery New Zealand is unsurpassed by any country in the world. She displays noble forests, snow-capped mountains shooting up ten thousand feet from a sea of green, tracts of rolling champaign country, dells, valleys, rivers, and rivulets innumerable, and three thousand miles of bay and ocean coast. New Zealand, too, with all these elements of fine scenery, this stock of raw beauty, is a fertile *cultivable* country, where plough and sickle would singularly enrich and brighten the landscape. The plough could not improve the natural beauty of a country like the Scotch Highlands, for the Scotch Highlands are not pecuniarily ploughable; and the plough could not create the "beautiful" in a country like the Fens of Lincolnshire, or the plains of Belgium. But in a fertile woody country, more resembling a combination of Surrey, Perthshire, Derbyshire, and Devonshire, it is evident that cultivation could be practised, and that cultivation would singularly improve the beauty of the scenery. Picturesque sites, too, and sheltered nooks for hamlet, tower, and town, homestead, cottage, and castle, are multitudinous in New Zealand; and when cultivation has given colour to the landscape, and contrast to the universal background of green; when the hills are more dotted with sheep, and the valleys more golden with corn; when the pheasant whirs from the brake, and the fox bursts from the cover, New Zealand may offer a thousand landscape-views which even a Turner might cross the seas to paint.

## CHAPTER IV.

### CLIMATE.

FERTILE soil and fine climate are the two choicest gifts which a country can receive from nature. But the latter is the most precious gift; for art, which can create a good soil, cannot create a good climate. Earth, fire, and water we have subdued: we make desert earth our cornucopia, fire our menial servant, ocean our smooth highway—but climate eludes our grasp and bows to no human laws.

In old countries like England, though, art may certainly lessen our dependence on climate. If we have to dine with a friend three counties off—snow, sleet, or rain—we step into a flying parlour and are borne to the feast without a feather ruffled. If, instead of flowers, Spring bring us bitter east blasts, we pile up the fire and hybernate in warm snuggeries through a vernal winter; whilst for coughs, colds, ague, and bronchitis "M.D." is ever round the corner. In England, too, half the people *have* no climate; they pass their lives in shops, offices, mines, mills, and manufactories, where science has taken hot air, and cold air, and cooked-up an artificial *substitute* for climate.

But in new emigration countries where we lead a wholesome out-door life and face the weather in the fields; where instead of brick and slate it may be weather-board and shingle; where we have to *rough* it more; and where the doctor is *not* always at hand in the next street, our dependence on climate is almost absolute: and in making choice of any new Land, "goodness of climate" should unquestionably rank as our first requirement—for on this will depend our health and strength, and on the continued enjoyment of health and strength will mainly depend our happiness and success.

By good climate, I mean a bracing, temperate climate. A climate may be too fine. Where there is perpetual sunshine

and serenity man degenerates into an emasculated idler. The Hindoo is a woman, the Neapolitan's "summum bonum" is basking in the sun and swallowing maccaroni; in Tahiti and the Paphian coral isles of the South, the soft islanders are scarce equal to greater labours than plucking fruit and eating it:—there

> "The bread-fruit ripens while they lie beneath
> Its shadow in luxurious indolence:
> The cocoa fills its nut with milk and kernel,
> While they are sauntering on the shores and mountains;
> And while they slumber from their plenteous meals
> In dead forgetfulness of life itself,
> The fish are spawning in unsounded depths,
> The birds are breeding in adjacent trees,
> The game is fattening in delicious pastures,
> Unplanted roots are thriving underground—
> To spread the tables of their future banquets."

What I conceive to be a truly good climate, especially for the British emigrant, is a climate assimilating to, but better, than his own—a climate which, endowing him with full powers of body and mind, shall require and call forth the fruitful *exercise* of such powers, and thus create for him the "mens sana in corpore sano."

The climate of New Zealand is emphatically a good climate; and if I had to give an idea of it in one sentence, I should describe it as "the climate of England with half the cold of the English winter." But the climate of New Zealand has suffered from indiscriminate laudation. Feminine superlatives (nicest finest loveliest sweetest) have been so lavished on it as to have obscured its true character, and its real unquestionable merits. In the sense in which we use such terms as "fine" "serene" climate there are many climates equal to that of New Zealand. Nay, if we limit the comparison to any one special month or season, we may perhaps find climates which, partially, are even finer. I have never experienced any month in New Zealand equal in settled splendour, and sunny serenity, to the Indian summer of America. I should fancy there is no entire season in New Zealand equal to the luxurious softness and young brilliancy of an Italian spring; and perhaps no whole month equal to a fine old English June. There is too much cloudy windy weather in New Zealand to entitle us to say that it has a

sunny, serene climate; and the southern coasts are subject to storms of cold rain and furious wind (Southerly Bursters), which are probably equal, in their way, to anything in the world. A little more frost, a little less wind and rain, would much improve the pleasantness of the climate; but taken as it is all this may truly be said of it:—that it is a climate favourable alike to the preservation of robust health and to the improvement of weak health; a climate most congenial to all pastoral and agricultural pursuits; one in which every English domestic animal thrives and fattens; and one in which every English grain, grass, fruit and flower attains full development and perfection.

The Honourable William Swainson, in his work on New Zealand, says:—

"Compared with the summer of England, the summer of New Zealand is but little warmer, though considerably longer. New Zealand is also much milder than England, both in winter, spring, and autumn. Indeed, the winter weather of England, from the middle of November to the middle of March, with its parching easterly winds, cold, fog, and snow, is altogether unknown. In the winter season, the growth of grass is scarcely checked by the winter cold. Geraniums, stocks, wallflowers, scarlet verbenas, daisies, Indian may, and other flowers, blossom throughout the coldest season; and the face of the cultivated country, with its ever-springing pastures and ever-green trees, looks as bright and cheerful (between the rains), on a sunny winter's day, as an English summer landscape.

"The salubrity of New Zealand has been established by the experience of years. For persons of delicate constitution it is probably unequalled, save by Madeira. Families have actually left Madeira to settle in New Zealand: one, if not more, of Messrs. Willis' ships having called there to take on passengers. Compared with the climate of Nice, the climate of the northern province of New Zealand is more temperate in summer, milder in winter, equally mild in the spring, and a little cooler in the autumn. And it has this advantage over the boasted Continental climates, that it is not so liable to the great variations of temperature common to them all, from sudden shifts of wind. It may be less charming than the climate of Italy and the south of

France, but it is more salubrious, and better suited to the English constitution; for it has the advantage over Italy and the south of France in being more limited in range of temperature, in embracing a less oppressive summer heat, and in displaying less sudden changes of temperature during the twenty-four hours, and a more gradual change of temperature from month to month."

TEMPERATURE.—In glancing at the following climatic tables, the reader should bear in mind that as South Britain is at the Antipodes the seasons are reversed,—our July answering to England's January. The indigenous plants and trees being evergreens, there is no autumnal fall. The leaves drop one by one and are renewed; but there is little or no difference in the appearance of the trees in any season; and vegetation seems never dormant. The country is always verdant, and as the months succeed each other in an almost inappreciable gradation it is somewhat difficult to divide the year into seasons as in England. Some division, however, being necessary for agricultural purposes, the old familiar division has been adopted. Thus, June, July, and August are styled winter—September, October, and November, spring — December, January, and February, summer—March, April, and May, autumn. The natives, however, consider August the first spring month, and May the first winter month; and their division, as regards spring, for the North Island at least, is perhaps the best.

MEAN TEMPERATURE OF VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

| Country. | Latitude. | Mean of Year. | Mean difference between the coldest Month and the hottest. | Mean of Spring. | Mean of Summer. | Mean of Autumn. | Mean of Winter. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| London . . | 51 | 50 | 26 | 49 | 62 | 52 | 40 |
| New Zealand | 41 | 56 | 19 | 54 | 65 | 57 | 50 |
| Madeira . . | 32 | 64 | 12 | 63 | 70 | 68 | 60 |
| Nice . . . | 44 | 60 | 30 | 56 | 73 | 62 | 48 |
| Naples. . . | 41 | 61 | 31 | 59 | 71 | 65 | 49 |
| Sydney . . | 35 | 66 | 16 | 4 | 74 | 66 | 55 |

This may be taken as about the mean for the central parts of

New Zealand. Otago, in the south, would be about five degrees cooler; whilst Auckland in the north, and Nelson, which enjoys a semi-artificial climate, would be about four degrees warmer. The best idea of the temperature and climate of a country is, however, best conveyed to the common reader by telling him what plants it *will* and will *not* grow and ripen. New Zealand produces, in perfection, every English-grown grain, grass, fruit, and vegetable. Wheat, potatoes, onions, apples, plums, peaches, and their congeners, are excellent in quality, and the peach bears profusely as a standard. The vine thrives in the open air at Auckland and Nelson better than it does in the south of England; whilst in the gardens of the warmest valleys of the hotter north, the horticulturist would probably succeed in raising fruits of such a semi-tropical character as the pomegranate, citron, loquat, orange, and olive. Maize (Indian corn), the Taro, a native of the Sandwich Islands, and the Kumera, a sweet potato, are partially cultivated by the natives in sheltered sunny spots of the North Island; but under common field cultivation, maize, a plant affording one of the nicest tests of "heat of climate," will not generally ripen in New Zealand; and never appears there, a "farmer's common crop," as it does in Australia and America, and other countries, where the summer and autumnal heat is more steady, permanent, and intense. Geraniums and myrtles, attaining a shrub size, and various delicate plants, which require the green-house in England, flourish through the winter in the open air; and generally it may be said that the few fruits and plants which thrive in New Zealand, but which will not thrive in England, are not those which require *more summer heat*, but those which require *less winter cold*.

Rain and Moisture.—Though there are more fine days in New Zealand than in England—the average number of days in the year when no rain falls being about 220 in New Zealand and 200 in England,—yet when it does rain, it rains harder; and the annual fall of rain is somewhat greater. But there is no tropical rainy season; and there is probably no country in the world where those "golden showers," which Loudon describes as so favourable to agriculture, are so common; and where even partial droughts are so rare. Rain generally falls

at or about the full and new moon, particularly about the latter. This greater fall of rain occasionally leads to an erroneous idea that New Zealand is necessarily a *damp* country. The climate, especially as compared with that of parched Australia, is unquestionably a moist one; but, in any climatically injurious sense, New Zealand cannot be called a "damp" country. It must be remembered that, for the most part, it is a hilly or undulating country, drained by countless brooks and streams, that much of the soil is of a light percolative character, and that either by sea-breeze or land-breeze, the atmosphere is kept in perpetual motion. Thus by the tripartite and simultaneous action of natural-watercourse drainage, of percolation, and evaporation, the effects of the heaviest rain soon disappear; and an amount of rain-fall, is received, and immediately disposed of, which, if it fell in a country of retentive undrained plains, with a sluggish atmosphere—such, for instance, as the (old) fens of Lincolnshire—might cause periodical floods, and create a raw dampness of climate productive of ague and fatal to the invalid. In the recent observations of Dr. Thompson, he uses these words:—"The moisture of the New Zealand climate is evidenced by the luxuriousness of its vegetation and the heavy night-dews—but this moisture is a very different thing from the raw dampness of many countries; it produces an exquisite softness of the skin, and the inhabitants rarely suffer from that unpleasant 'glazed' feeling of the skin so often experienced in dry climates."

Indeed, no better evidence as to the climate being the reverse of a climate injuriously damp need be desired than that which we find in Dr. Thompson's able sanatory reports, where he shows us that an obstinate form of ague which the troops brought with them to New Zealand from their old station at Tilbury Fort, Essex, was soon eradicated by the climate of Auckland; and where, too, we see that cases of consumption and pectoral disease are singularly rare in New Zealand.

Wind.—On the coasts, the climate is unquestionably a boisterous one. The wind may not blow furiously so often as it does on the English coasts, but it blows "stiff" oftener: there are fewer "tempests," but more "half gales." There is, how-

ever, the same relative difference as to wind between the coasts and the interior in New Zealand as there is in England. Taupo is calmer than Wellington, just in the degree that Bath is calmer than Beachey Head. The coldest and most unpleasant winds are the wet southerly gales ("southerly bursters"), common in Wellington and Canterbury. Early winter is perhaps the calmest season; spring and early summer the most breezy.

General Remarks.—South of Auckland, I never felt it hotter in New Zealand than in England; and everywhere on the coast a summer sea breeze sets in about ten in the forenoon. In fine winter mornings, a crust of ice is occasionally seen on pools and road-side splashes. Snow is never seen in the North Island except on the mountain tops; but slight falls occasionally sprinkle the southern plains of Canterbury and Otago. Fogs and mists are rare, and thunder-storms are less frequent than even in England. There is but little twilight; in summer it is dark about an hour earlier than in England, in winter about an hour later. The nights are always proportionately cooler than the days: when a warm coat would be oppressive in the fields by day, a blazing log would be cozy in the house at night.

Our experience of the climate is, however, at present, chiefly confined to the coasts. In the interior, the climate is more settled and serene, the winters a little colder, the summers a little warmer, the seasons more advanced; and in the *interior* it is, I think, highly probable that such semi-tropical fruits as those mentioned at page 66 might be cultivated with success in the warm valleys of the North.

It should be observed that there is less difference between the climate of the north and the south of New Zealand than we might expect to find from the difference of latitude. Auckland, Nelson, Taranaki, and Hawke's Bay, perhaps enjoy the finest climates; and invalids or delicate emigrants might do well to settle in one or other of these provinces. Both in salubrity and pleasantness, however, the climate of any part of New Zealand, except, perhaps, in the extreme north and south, is probably superior to the climate of even the finest parts of Great Britain; and none but the delicate or consumptive need be influenced in

their "choice of province" by any, alleged, climatic superiority which one province may boast of over another.

Various comparisons have from time to time been drawn between Great Britain and South Britain in regard to climate—but, in these, two considerations appear ever to have escaped attention: the one, that all which is bad and disagreeable in the latter climate is *felt*; whereas, owing to the appliances and contrivances of high civilisation, half which is bad and disagreeable in the former is *not* felt—the other, that we are speaking of the New Zealand climate in its rude, primeval state—not in its art-improved state. No art can make a bad climate good; but art can make any climate better. The cultivation of a new country materially improves its climate. Damp and dripping forests, exhaling pestilent vapours from rank and rotten vegetation, fall before the axe; and light and air get in, and sunshine, ripening goodly plants. Fen and marsh and swamp, the bittern's dank domain, fertile only in miasma, are drained; and the plough converts them into wholesome plains of fruit, and grain, and grass. When Cæsar's legions chased the painted savages along the shores of Kent, many a deadly Pontine marsh held the place of what is now a salubrious champaign country of orchards corn and cattle; and the primeval climate of Albion probably mowed down more of the invaders than did the scythed chariots of her woad-stained warriors. A few years since, the ague was the scourge of my native swamps in Lincolnshire; and fen infants, like myself, were only preserved by copious cups of bark and wine. But now, reed and rush and snake and buzzard rat and eel have vanished before the plough; the "reek o' the rotten fen" is gone, and the ague is a tradition of the past. It is difficult to imagine that the climate of Canada could ever have been more inclement than it is now; yet old graybeards of the bush tell us that sixty years ago Canadian winters were winters worthy of the Arctic zone: settlement and cultivation will produce the like effects in New Zealand; so that we may plume ourselves on the thought that if the climate be good now it will be better ere long and perfect for posterity.

Salubrity.—The salubrity of the climate of New Zealand

is a feature which invalid families who emigrate to the Continent to escape the British winter, and the British income-tax, might do well to study. The 58th and 65th Regiments have been stationed in New Zealand several years, and the following officially-compiled tables of the health of troops stationed in different parts of the world, by Dr. Thompson, of the 58th, prove the salubrity of the climate in a remarkable manner, and have been the means of drawing considerable attention to New Zealand among our invalid classes:—

### General Mortality.

Number of Soldiers in 1000 who Annually Die from different diseases on various military stations.

| | |
|---|---|
| New Zealand | 8¼ |
| Australia | 11 |
| Great Britain | 14 |
| Cape of Good Hope | 15 |
| Malta | 18 |
| Canada | 20 |

### Consumption.

Number of Soldiers in 1000 Annually *Attacked*, and the number who Annually *Die* from Consumption, on various stations.

| | Attacked. | Deaths. |
|---|---|---|
| New Zealand | 60 | 2·7 |
| Cape | 98 | 3·0 |
| Australia | 133 | 5·8 |
| Malta | 120 | 6·0 |
| Canada | 148 | 6·7 |
| Great Britain | 148 | 8·0 |

The large families of the colonists, and the robust appearance of the children, tend to corroborate the extraordinary conclusions forced on us by these military statistics. The Registrar's returns for one of the settlements (Otago) show, that among 1247 children under fourteen, there were only 7 deaths in the year, or 1 for every 178. The total number of deaths per 1000 was about 5; whilst the total number of births per 1000 was nearly 45!

The returns for another Settlement show that while in the year 1857 the total number of deaths among a population of 2500 souls was 14 the total number of births was 122. One or two families have left even Madeira to settle in New Zealand; and already some hundreds of people from Nova Scotia and our North American possessions, influenced partly by climatic considerations, have actually removed or re-emigrated twelve thousand miles across the waters to plant new homes in the province of Auckland! The purity of the atmosphere produces a buoyancy of spirits, too, in the English constitution destructive of spleen and hypochondriasis; and there appears to be no reason to doubt that as the country and the climate become better known South Britain will become the sanatorium of a large body of what may be termed wealthy invalid-emigrants: families who, cultivating a few acres for amusement near the towns and profiting by the fine scenery and the really good society of the young Land, will invest their capitals at ten and twelve per cent., and so nurse up both purse and person.

Dr. Thompson says that "the North Island of New Zealand will be found a more favourable residence for Europeans who have lost their health in India, than the Cape of Good Hope, the Mediterranean, Australia, or Great Britain. Its superiority over Great Britain consists in the more genial climate, the absence of that intense cold, and of those sudden vicissitudes of temperature which are found unpleasant, and often injurious to men long inured to tropical countries. Its superiority over the Cape and Mediterranean, consists in the less frequent occurrence of those diseases which are common to India. To the Indian who has suffered from no disease, but whose mind and body are exhausted and enervated, New Zealand will be found a peculiarly agreeable residence. I speak of this from my own personal experience, and that of one or two others who have suffered from the exhaustion of an Indian life. From the moisture of the climate, it might be supposed that New Zealand was a country which would produce ague; but this is not the case. During the year 1849, a detachment of recruits joined the 58th Regiment. Previous to their embarcation, they had been quartered for several months at Tilbury Fort, Essex. During the voyage out, and shortly after their arrival, several of the men were attacked with ague. The disease

went on for four months; every seizure, however, being less severe. At last it wore itself out, and the men completely regained their health. Seeing that diseases and deaths are less frequent in New Zealand than England, the question naturally arises—Is the duration of life more extended? I should certainly say it was, not only from the results as advanced in this paper, but also from the circumstance that the mortality among children under five years of age has been found very low; and, from the general nature of the climate, giving old men an ease and comfort which no wealth nor artifice can secure in England."*

## Climatic Calendar.

"Showery," includes days when there was even a single sunshiny shower. "Wet," means heavy rain, preventing out-door labour. The table is the mean of meteorological observations for three consecutive years, made with scrupulous exactitude by my brother, at New Plymouth.

August.—Mean temperature 49°—answering to the English February, mean temperature 39°. In the north, spring commences about the end of this month; though September is generally called the first spring month. Dry days 16, showery 11, wet 4.

Often coarse, wet, disagreeable weather; but sensibly warmer and finer towards the end. Garden potatoes planted; peaches blossom; karaka flowers; and warauroa, the first cuckoo, arrives.

September.—Mean temperature 52°—answering to the English March, mean temperature 42°. Dry days 15, showery 11, wet 4.

A rainy, breezy, month; but the sun gains power, and the roads dry soon. The best spring lambing month. Fruit-trees blossom; the kowai flowers, and in the North Island asparagus may be cut; young wheat is green and strong; nature becomes more lively; birds pair, and fill the woods with song.

* Some further remarks on the salubrity of the climate, pointing out one or two features which I think Dr. Thompson has overlooked, will be found in the statistical tables of Chap. XVII.

OCTOBER.—Mean temperature 57°—answering to the English April, mean temperature 47°. Dry days 18; showery 11, wet 2.

More like a boisterous March than the preceding month; called by the natives "te ra kihi,"—the blustering, noisy period, and often felt to be rather a cold month owing to the wind. Barley and turnips sown; native kumera planted; peony and tulip come into flower; apple blossoms; vine and mulberry show fruit; tawara ripe; and the koekoea, second cuckoo, arrives.

NOVEMBER.—Mean temperature 61°—answering to the English May, mean temperature 56°. Dry days 19, showery 10, wet 1.

Calmer, and less variable; sensibly warmer, and more pleasant. Towards the end, in the north, early meadows may be cut; roses bloom; tree-honeysuckle flowers; new potatoes and peas are fit; strawberries and cream come in, and sheep-shearing should end.

DECEMBER.—Mean temperature 65°—answering to the English June, mean temperature 60°. Dry days 21, showery 10.

First true summer month. Sunny and breezy; best hay-making time. Scarlet rata flowers; cherries and garden berries ripen. Fine season for bush travelling and excursions among the natives.

JANUARY.—Mean temperature 67°—answering to the English July, mean temperature 63°. Dry days 25, showery 5, wet 1.

Harvest month in the north. Native karaka ripens.

FEBRUARY.—Mean temperature 66°—answering to the English August, mean temperature 63°. Dry days 20, showery 5, wet 3.

Generally the driest month. Harvest finished everywhere, and wall-fruits and apples gathered.

MARCH.—Mean temperature 63°—answering to the English September, mean temperature 58°. Dry days 24, showery 6, wet 1.

March is the first autumnal month: fine, brilliant, breezy weather. Native kumera (sweet potato) gathered, and pasture-grass seeds sown.

APRIL.—Mean temperature 57°—answering to the English October, mean temperature, 51°. Dry days 19, showery 10, wet 2.

Weather has a more autumnal feel. Musquitoes and flies disappear, and last cuckoo departs. Grapes ripe; potato crop taken up, and stubbles ploughed. Best autumnal lambing month.

MAY.—Mean temperature 50°—answering to the English November, mean temperature 42°. Dry days 17, showery 11, wet 3. Natives' first winter month.

Sensibly colder; rain much heavier; and one of the most unpleasant months in the year, though there are frequently some exquisite days about the end. Best general month, I think, for wheat sowing.

JUNE.—Mean temperature 46°—answering to the English December, mean temperature 38°. Dry days 14, showery 14, wet 2.

Bright frosty mornings are more common, and generally a more pleasant month than the preceding. Winter wheat sowing finished, and fruit and other trees transplanted.

JULY.—Mean temperature 44°—answering to the English January, mean temperature 36°. Dry days 18, showery 9, wet 4.

Not unlike June, but colder, and wetter, and perhaps altogether the worst month of the year. The *bad* weather of these New Zealand winter months is much like cold wet English March weather; the *fine*, like the brilliant weather of an English October.

## CHAPTER V.

### ANIMAL KINGDOM.

It is a singular fact that New Zealand, a country as large as the United Kingdom and one possessing a genial climate and abundance of food and covert for all the Herbivora, should not possess a single indigenous wild animal. With the exception of two or three small lizards, the kiore (a small rat) is the only four-footed native creature which exists;* and even this little king-quadruped of the country is fast disappearing before his alien congener from Norway.

Emigrants of sporting tastes have urged this as a serious objection to the country and with some reason; but, the fact should not be overlooked that in new countries abounding with game, where the rifle will stock the larder, deadly reptiles or ferocious animals always emperil the chase. The hunting-grounds of our American and African emigration fields supply deer, buffalo, wild turkey, elephant, antelope, and a rich variety of smaller game—but they also supply rattle-snake and mocassin-snake, scorpion, centipede, puff-adder, leopard and lion. Harmless game may be introduced into New Zealand—but deadly reptiles and ferocious beasts will hardly be extirpated in America and Africa.

Happily, New Zealand is equally as destitute of reptiles as of game—St. Patrick must have resided there before he discovered Ireland. There is no snake or venomous reptile, and no insect so noxious as our common wasp.† The black whale frequents the coast from June to October;

* An animal resembling the beaver has once or twice been seen in the remote rivers of the South Island. But he may have been some enterprising seal, fishing higher up-stream than usual.

† One or two varieties of a small biting spider exist in certain localities; but they are very seldom seen, and are not, I think, to be more dreaded than the common wasp. New Zealand musquitoes and sand-flies (in the clearings and settled parts) are not worse than English gnats and Highland midges.

and seals are still found, and were formerly abundant, on the remote southern shores.

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ORNITHOLOGY.—There are about fifty varieties of land birds; and as some are free and fine songsters and as others indulge in great cry and clamour, they impart considerable liveliness and animation to the *outskirts* of the woods. The most common and certainly the most facetious individual of the ornithology is the Tui (Parson-Bird). Larger than the blackbird and more elegant in shape, his plumage is lustrous black irradiated with green hues and pencilled with silver gray, and he displays a white throat-tuft for his clerical bands. Parson-bird though he be, the Tui is no sullen anchorite mortifying the flesh. He is a bird of the convivial rector order, fond of honey; and taking tithe of all the fruits his rich living affords. Joyous Punchinello of the bush, he is perpetual fun, in motion. He *can* sing, but seldom will; and preserves his voice for mocking others. Darting from some low shrub to the topmost twig of the tallest tree, he commences roaring forth such a variety of strange noises with such changes of voice and volume of tone as to claim the instant attention of the forest. Should another tui chance to be near he flits down for a sham fight, throws a somerset or two, and then darts into his bush only to come forth the next minute with exhibition number two. Caught and caged, he is still the merry ventriloquist; he mocks cock and cat, and has been known to frighten a nervous little dog off the premises, whilst, to add to his merits, he becomes such fine eating in the season of the poroporo berries that an alderman might turn from turtle and tempt the seas to taste a tui stew.

There are four varieties of parrots: the kakapo, a large owl-like ground-hopping parrot, now chiefly confined to the remote western forests of the South Island; the kaka, a brown hawk-like bird; and two pretty green parroquets. A fine wood-pigeon is common in the forests; and nearly a dozen varieties of wild fowl, including the splendid Paradise duck, are plentiful in spots about the river mouths. A small grass quail now becoming scarce, was once abundant on the Canterbury and Nelson plains; the weka (wood-hen) a fine rail, is common in some localities; and the true snipe has at last been met with; though it is so ex-

exceedingly scarce as to be quite the "rara avis in terris." The pukeko, a beautiful bird of the rail family, of brilliant purple plumage, haunts the old native gardens; the elegant Uia, a bird the size of a magpie, with long tail-feathers, much prized by the natives, is found in the more remote districts; and the king-fisher, the chiming bell-bird, black robin, flycatcher, and various small songsters of the finch and linnet family are common round every homestead. The kiwi (Apterix Australis), a grotesque-looking and most pugnacious creature of the Struthionidæ family, is still found in the deep recesses of the forest; and if the reader will picture a hairy hedgehog on short stilts, with a long beak much too heavy for him, moping in a corner, and spurring viciously when excited, he will have a rude idea of what the kiwi is like.* There are two cuckoo birds of passage, arriving in the spring and remaining about six weeks; a small scarce crow; a little owl called "more pork" from its peculiar cry; and two birds of prey—one an elegant sparrow-hawk; the other a kite, bold enough to pounce on a full-grown duck, and a frequent but wary visitor in the poultry yard. The booming bittern, shunning all trace of man, haunts the distant rushy swamps; a small blue-crested crane is occasionally seen about the coasts; and a beautiful, snow-white heron is sometimes met with on the high cliffs of the remote southern rivers. The feathers of this latter bird are much prized for native hair ornaments; but it is so scarce as to give rise to the proverb "Kotahi te rerenga o te Kotuku rerenga tahi."—Once is the flight of the rare Kotoku—applied in flattery to any great chief who makes a short first visit and then departs for ever.

Coast Birds.—The coast birds comprise two species of albatross, four of gulls, three or four of petrels, and several varieties of the cormorant and petrel. Albatross have been caught measuring nineteen feet between the tips of the wings. The young Titi (mutton-bird), a species of puffin, is caught by the Southern natives in great quantities at the breeding season, and potted in its own fat, is sent as a sort of "paté de foie gras"

* It is a most belligerent creature: at the Regent's Park Gardens one was placed with two birds big enough to eat him, the sacred ibis and the tiger bittern; but, undaunted by names or size, the kiwi was always having triumphant little rounds with them, and had at last to be placed in solitary confinement, where he soon died.

to inland friends. The Korora, a small green penguin, is the craftiest little fisherman of all coast birds: his favourite morsel is the Pipi, a shell fish addicted to the fatal practice of basking on the beach with its mouth open; Korora drops a small stone in to prevent Pipi closing his shell, feasts away on him at leisure; and then proceeds pebble in bill to surprise Pipi No. 2.

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Fish.—Just as the New Zealand forests are destitute of game, so are its rivers destitute of fish; and just as the sporting visitor would fancy that the one must abound with wild turkey and deer, so would he fancy that the other must abound with salmon and trout. The streams—

"Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full,"

are the very streams for fish and anglers; yet, though stored with those nice spots—

"—— Where with the pool is mixed the trembling stream,
Or where it boils around the stone, or from hollowed bank
Reverted plays in undulating flow—
You throw, nice judging, the delusive fly"—

they boast no single fish worth the angler's catching. Eels attaining a goodly size are found in every stream; a sort of grayling is taken in a few of the clearest rivers; and the spotted Kokopu, called trout, but which Soyer himself could not make palatable, abounds in every brook. These, with the smelt, lamprey, whitebait, and some sprat-like lake and tidal varieties, are all the fish which the thousand-and-one rivers of New Zealand afford; and with the exception of the eel, grayling, smelt, and whitebait, which are excellent, not one of them is worth hook or net. Sea fish, however, are more plentiful: the best are the John Dory, the Hapuka (a sort of cod), the Moki, the Whárehóu, the Patiki or Flounder, the Kawai (a coarse common fish rising at the fly in tidal waters and sometimes dubbed the salmon), and some mullet, rock-cod, bastard-skate, snapper, and herring.

I consider that Billingsgate could show a dozen good table fish for New Zealand's one. Indeed, in my opinion, there are not six good table fish to be found in all the seas south of the Equator. Some colonists, however, differ from me here, and one gentleman, writing from Wellington, says:—"The books

may well tell us that the harbours abound with fish; abound is a poor word—they are literally *alive* with fish. Mr. —— and myself now almost live on them; they are delicious, and in great variety. We have one like salmon, and quite as fine in flavour.* On a sunny morning the surface of the harbour is a complete mass of fishy life."

Crawfish, rock-oysters, fine cockles and mussels are abundant; but shrimps and crabs are small and worthless. Two or three varieties of sharks are common on the coast; they occasionally enter the harbours, and render swimming, far out in deep water, rather hazardous.

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Insects.—The birds and fish of New Zealand differ widely from those of England; but the common insects of the two countries are very similar. House-flies, butterflies, dragon-flies, spiders, moths, caterpillars, beetles, slugs, snails, grasshoppers and glowworms, are, many of them, almost identical with those of England. There are a few ants; but no earwigs, wasps or hornets. The principal indigenous insects not found in England are the Koéke, a large locust-grasshopper (flying like a jack-snipe), the Weta, a suspicious-looking scorpion-like creature, apparently replete with "high concocted venom," but perfectly harmless; and the Cicada, a locust-like insect, a most noisy chirper during the summer weeks; and the insect to which Cook probably alluded as "the scorpion-fly with whose chirping the woods resound."

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Semi-wild Domestic Animals.—Pig (Poaka Kuhukuhu). The pig was introduced into New Zealand by Captain Cook and Governor King. In the old war-times when the Tribes were constantly besieging and destroying each other's village strongholds, slaves and pigs formed the conquerors' chief booty, and many of each were killed and eaten at the victors' feast; but, during the siege and melée, some of the pigs would escape into the forests, where, running wild and breeding, and having a fine climate, abundance of fern root and other food, millions of acres of close covert, and no animal enemies to molest them,

* This gentleman must have lived on salt ship-meat, for four months, and lost his palate, if he ever had one.

they spread over both islands, and may now be numbered by thousands. They roam about in little herds of a dozen or so; but, keeping in the deepest recesses of the forest, are seldom or ever seen except by bush-travellers or pig-hunters. They are small fleet animals, with coarse skins, weighing about 100 lbs. The young pork is excellent;* but it is a costly mistake to put one of these forest rangers into the sty: ignorant that the duty of a good pig is to get fat and be killed, they chafe and fret in prison, and invariably devouring any intrusive duck which may chance to look in, they slight barley meal and grow thinner on every feed.

New Zealand pig-hunting, fit sport for pork-butchers, is generally thus performed:—The *sportsmen* get together two or three mongrel curs, take hatchet and musket, and proceed to beat the woods in some remote locality: the pig started, the curs worry him for half a mile through the thicket till they bring him to bay, when the ragged Nimrods labour up, cut the poor brute's throat, and bag him for the pot.

It is much to be regretted that a few calves were not among Cook's gifts. If two or three couple of young stock had been landed with the pigs, and had thriven in like manner during the half century which elapsed between our great circumnavigator's visit and the colonisation of 1840, the pioneer settlers would have found herds of wild cattle roaming over the country; and whole tracts of fern and thicket would have been browsed down into noble pastures fit for the depasturing of millions of sheep. A young bull and a couple of heifers were once turned loose on the island of Kapiti by a Sydney trader, and the produce, in a few years, was a fine herd of wild cattle. The late chief Te Rauparaha, as lord of the manor, would occasionally *sell* permission to some sporting visitor to stalk this herd, and try a rifle-shot. They were very shy and wild, scudding off like buffaloes, and

* In returning, we came upon several wild pigs, one of which the chief singled out. We both had an excellent chase; the horses keeping a few yards behind, fairly ran him down: as he was fat, weighing above 100 lbs. the pork of such a pig is very fine eating; more like fowl, perhaps, than any other meat. Sometimes they will stand a good hunt, and will charge anything that comes in their way. The old boars sometimes kill the dogs. One of my sons has killed as many as nine or ten pigs in a day.—*Journal of a Somersetshire Farmer.*

dangerous to approach when wounded. The beef was delicious; and the whalers generally contrived to shoot a fat heifer for Christmas cheer.

Dog (Kuri; Peropero).—Some assert that the native dog is indigenous; others that it accompanied the natives in their first migration; others that it was introduced by some early Spanish ship. It is however such an utterly worthless cur that the question of origin is not worth raising. It is a small lurcher-like animal, black, red, or dirty yellow; and its look, gait, and general deportment, are decidedly hand-dog and vulpine. The low character of the animals is evidenced by their having no names. Like the "masterless dogs" of Constantinople, they seem to belong to nobody in particular, but to be waste chattel, common to the village. In former times the natives prized both flesh and skin; and a dog-skin mat was a robe of state. They are cherished now chiefly by the women: the native girls alternately thrashing and petting them—displaying, like young ladies, in society, a capricious tenderness for puppies.

The New Zealand dog is not a wild dog though, not "feræ naturæ" like the ravaging dingo of Australia. Wherever a Maori cur may be by night he is always at home by day, basking in the sun, yelping at every visitor, and officiously present at every meal. He is ugly and worthless rather than mischievous; his sins are sins of omission; and save for an occasional onslaught on some housewife's turkeys, and now and then for the death of a sheep or two, he has probably less to answer for than many a dog of more demure looks.

Common cat (Ngeru; Tori).—The cat probably introduced itself from some early ship. Like every other alien animal introduced into this teeming country, it has taken full possession of the soil; and, like the dog, has multiplied beyond due limits. Ages of domesticity have failed to eradicate the native wildness of the cat: opportunity serving, puss soon relapses into feline barbarism and forsakes the hearth to prowl the forest. When the New Zealand settler moves deeper into the Bush, the cat usually accompanies his Lares and Penates: the first bush-born cats are always shy, the second are more so, and will prowl about the near woods; here, they meet neighbour cats similarly inclined to forest life; and, thus, in three genera-

tions, a cat race is produced which is so far wild as to shun the house, to have its lair about the farm buildings and to subsist itself on birds, lizards, and rats; and which would show small respect to pullet, duckling or poult straying beyond the sanctuary of the homestead.

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### Animals and Birds which might be advantageously introduced into New Zealand.

New Zealand should swarm with game. There is no destructive animal* or reptile; the climate and soil are perfection; water flows everywhere in profusion; and there is the finest cover and perpetual profusion of the finest food for every game creature from jack-snipe up to elephant. There would be no game laws in New Zealand; but the common law of trespass would protect the young game on a man's estate from any aggressive pot-shot; and in New Zealand, where peasants are farmers, peasant-poaching would be an offence unknown.

Pheasants have been introduced with success in the extreme north; and pheasants as wood-cover birds, and as game requiring but little corn and stubble land, would be rather more at home in New Zealand, as yet, than partridges. Partridges, however, especially the French variety, and quails, would even now find ample breadth of corn-land among the farms round every settlement, and might all be introduced with success. All stock-game of this description, hares and even wild rabbits, should be the finest young birds and animals procurable of a Breeder; as game which has been reared in the domesticated state stands the voyage and the gradual "turning-off," on arrival, far better than game which has been trapped wild.†

Rook and Wood-pigeon might also be introduced with advantage. A Rookery would be a most cheerful addition to the New Zealand country-house. The bird is a black coat who for one

* There is the domestic wild cat; but this is not a common animal, prowling over the country—it is confined to the homesteads, and could easily be kept down. There are only two hawks. Thus, game in New Zealand would not suffer from those felons of the preserves—fox, polecat, weasel, stoat, marten, magpie, carrion-crow, eagle, buzzard, and falcon.

† Baker, Game and Fancy-Fowl Breeder, of Chelsea, London, is an eminent man in this department.

tithe he takes of the farmer's crop, takes fifty tithes of those insect pests which *injure* the farmer's crop; and there are worse things in the world than cold squab-pie. Wood-pigeons would find New Zealand a paradise; and breeding with the native bird, would probably tempt this forest recluse to sun his beauty more in the open country, where men could see and shoot him.

Indeed, there can be no reason why emigrant enthusiasts in Birds should not introduce all their feathered favourites. Jay, magpie, and starling, thrush, blackbird, and goldfinch, bullfinch, sparrow, and linnet, are all easily procured; would all bear the voyage; would all thrive and multiply in New Zealand; would all form pleasant surroundings and associations; and would all be useful as well as ornamental.

Thoroughly adapted for all our common birds and for small game, New Zealand, if possible, is even better adapted for our large game. Red, roe, and fallow deer, once introduced into feeding-grounds and noble coverts like Mount Egmont's ranges and the "Black Forest" territory, described in the article on Nelson, would never be exterminated—not even if hunted, war-to-the-knife, by the Red Indians led by Scrope St. John or Cumming.*

A serious proposal for the introduction of game into New Zealand may be derided by some as a speculation bordering on the æsthetics of emigration. But, in truth, the introduction of game into a country like New Zealand might well be attended with social and even pecuniary benefits. We don't go to New Zealand, as we do to Victoria, with pick and pan, to dig for dear-won nuggets, to gulp gallons of rum, and then, rich or ragged, to hurry home. We go to the Britain of the South to create an estate—to raise a home wherein to anchor fast and plant our household gods; and all we do to make this home a glad and happy home tends to increase both our profits and our pleasures. No man can better deserve, no man can better afford, a day's pastime than a New Zealand colonist. *His* bow,

* The fallow deer could unquestionably be introduced; while from information gained this season in Aberdeenshire from Lord Panmure's keepers, I think that with care and management young half-tamed, hand-raised red deer would make the voyage.

even, must sometimes be unbent; and surely 'tis better far that he should nerve himself in rural sports, "chasing the red deer and following the roe," than that he should relax himself in city dissipations and the laps of ballet girls.

Some day, too, New Zealand may have to "set her squadrons in the tented field," say to chastise Victoria, or to beat off the French: she may need good soldiers—good soldiers must be good shots—good shots are made by good shooting—and America has raw materials for the finest soldiers in the world mainly because her abundance of game makes every tenth man a crack rifle shot.

Might we not reasonably say, then, that families of the estate-creating capitalist order, who may contemplate planting new homes in our infant Britain of the South, would deserve well of the Land of their adoption if each would give a few pounds and a few hours to the gradual work of stocking our fields and forests with the common birds and the game of the British Isles?

## CHAPTER VI.

### VEGETABLE KINGDOM.

NEW ZEALAND is the land of greenwood. Vegetation runs riot. The teeming growth, perpetual verdure, and vigorous freshness of her forests, have been the admiration of every visitor since the days of Cook. Of plants, from humble shrub and creeping daisy up to that king of trees, the noble Kauri, there are nearly 650 distinct species; and of these there are scarcely twenty which bear even a general resemblance to any of our English plants.

The four great characteristic differences between the Flora of New Zealand and that of any European country are these:—1, that in New Zealand every plant is evergreen;* 2, the existence in New Zealand of a far smaller proportion of annuals and flower-bearing plants; 3, the existence of a much larger proportion of trees and shrubs, and of tree-creeping parasitical plants; 4, the existence of numerous plants of the beautiful fern and palm-tree family.

The mode of growth, too, the general appearance of a New Zealand forest, is different from anything in the old world. Thousands of tall columnar trees of fifty different species, one to two hundred feet high, struggle up through a wilderness of underwood—their leafy heads so loaded with tufts of rushy

* The Fuchsia-tree (Fuchsia excorticata) is the only exception. The trees shed their leaves and renew them, as one leaf drops off, another comes. But, as before observed, there is no autumnal fall, no universal spring re-clothing; and though the foliage is the brightest and most blossom-chequered in spring, it appears almost equally thick and luxuriant at all seasons. The timber-trees have intertwined *surface* roots, not tap-roots; and never exhibit a *lateral* growth, like our larch and firs. They display straight, columnar, branchless, stems; surmounted by circular or conical heads of heavy boughs and leafy branches.

parasites that the true foliage is almost lost in the rank vegetation of the alien polypiæ; while innumerable creepers, from the rope-like supple-jack up to that vegetable boa-constrictor, the gigantic Rata, coil round every stem, run up every limb, glide from head to head, and intwine the topmost branches of a dozen trees in fifty Gordian knots. The Underwood consists of these creepers and of an equally dense growth of young saplings, mixed with forest shrubs, such as the delicate lady's hair, the Kopakopa, an elegant plumy fern, the Nikau and many others. Such, too, is the closeness of the growth, such the luxuriance of the vegetation in a New Zealand forest, that sun and air scarce can penetrate, glimpses only of the sky are caught through the leafy canopy above, and at high noonday in the fields it is always green twilight in the woods. If this underwood thicket contained any prickly plants like briars and brambles, or the African Wait-a-bit thorn, the New Zealand forest, or "Bush," as we call it, would be a jungle physically impenetrable; and even as it is it presents so many obstacles to free movement that no one but a native or a bush sawyer, experienced in supple-jack snares and root-traps, would burst and scramble through it at a greater rate of progress than a mile an hour at most.

In England there are not, I think, 40 varieties of indigenous trees—in New Zealand, including shrubs over twenty feet high, there are 120; and of these, probably half, are trees attaining a *size* large enough to entitle them to rank as "Timber Trees."

The smaller trees and tree-shrubs (light bush), growing about the edges of the great forests, or clothing the dells and valleys of the open country, are so numerous that the bare enumeration of them here would require more space than I can devote to the whole Vegetable Kingdom. Among the commonest, we find three varieties of that forest Houri, the Fern-tree, fifty feet high with coronals of palmy leaves fluttering in the breeze like forest fans; the Nikau, more rare but less beautiful than the fern-tree; the Fuchsia, thirty feet high; the fruity Poroporo, the sweet-scented Manuka, the tree-myrtle and fragrant Veronica, the Ngaio, the elegant Titoki, and the laurel-like Karaka with its glossy foliage and clusters of golden fruit—

the last the only tree which the Maori Æneas brought with him in his migration from the sunny shores of Hawaii.*

In addition to the number of valuable trees and plants indigenous to New Zealand, her vegetable kingdom has received great extension by the introduction of exotics. Many of the ornamental Australian shrubs—blue-gum, acacia, Norfolk Island pine—and many of our English trees, such as elm, beech, willow, fir, ash, and oak, are already introduced; every grain, fruit, flower, and vegetable of the British isles is now seen in full perfection in the fields, orchards, and gardens; cresses mantle the little homestead brooks, and mushrooms abound in the pastures; whilst clover, turnip, cabbage, carrot, spinach, mint, thyme, and various stray vegetables and garden plants, spreading themselves over the country in some apparently unaccountable manner, are found in many districts mixed up with the indigenous vegetation of the country and almost threatening to oust even the vigorous natives of the soil.

Flora and Pomona, however, have dealt most niggardly with New Zealand: there is no indigenous flower equal to England's dog-rose, no indigenous fruit equal to Scotland's cranberry.

Arriving in New Zealand from Africa where the flowers are as fine as the foliage is mean, and where in shooting we flushed the humming-bird through crimsoned acres of geraniums, we were all forcibly struck with the universal *greenness* of the New Land. The forests are green, green everywhere and always, green of all hues, nothing but green; and our pure woodland scenery, though beautiful enough, needs fifty flower-bearing trees like the gaudy Rata, and a hundred peony tulip dahlia ranunculus and rhododendron-like shrubs, to give it deeper colours and more varied brilliancy.

Poor in wild flowers, New Zealand is even poorer in wild fruit. The Kiekie, our wild pine-apple, which one author calls "a vegetable luxury like a juicy pear flavoured with vanilla," is a vegetable impostor far more like a sweet artichoke flavoured with pitch. The Poroporo, the nicest or least nasty

* These beautiful evergreens, intermingled with the Australian acacia and blue-gum, and the English rose, laurel, lilac and laburnum, form shrubberies around many of the New Zealand cottages of a beauty and variety impossible to describe.

of our wild fruits, is a sodden strawberry flavoured with apple-peel; but if rashly tasted an hour before it is ripe the Poroporo is an alum pill flavoured with strychnine. The only taste which the golden Karaka has at all, is a slight taste of wizened quince, whilst the Tawa, New Zealand's damson, eats very much like a sloe steeped in tar.

The two most common and important plants of the open country are the Raorao (Pteris esculenta), the common fern plant of the plains; and the Phormium tenax, the New Zealand flax plant.

There are probably ten or fifteen millions of acres in New Zealand where the common Fern, intermixed more or less with Ti tree, Toetoe and Tutu,* is the principal vegetation. It generally attains a height of about four feet; but on rich light soil, like that of New Plymouth, it grows almost six feet high with cane-like stalks thick as a man's finger, and forms a dense covert impenetrable to sheep, and one through which no man can *walk*. Before the introduction of the potato, the root of this plant was the chief vegetable food of the natives; it is now occasionally eaten by them, and has always been one of the chief articles of support for their herds of swine.

Phormium tenax is called New Zealand flax from the flax-like properties of its fibre; not from any resemblance it bears to the insignificant-looking plant of Europe. Phormium tenax is a flag-like shrub, throwing out a bunch of splendid leaves four to five feet long by three inches broad, and bearing a profusion of pink blossoms, much frequented by the bee. This is the plant which, before the introduction of the blanket and European clothing, supplied the natives with all the material for their mats and garments. In its green state, strips of it tied together are commonly used by the colonists as rough string, and a great and increasing portion of the rope and cordage required by the fleet of coasting-vessels is now manufactured in the Colony from the prepared fibre. The fibre is reputed to be the strongest

* Tutu (Coriaria ruscifolia) is a small bush with a berry like the elder. It produces a sort of "hoven," or narcotic effect on sheep and cattle, when too greedily eaten; and the berry, from which the natives express an agreeable juice (carefully avoiding the seed), should never be eaten. With this solitary exception, the vegetable kingdom is as harmless as the animal; it is believed that there is no other wild berry or root injurious either to man or beast.

vegetable substance known; but most tenaciously incorporated with it there is a sort of resinous gummy substance, which renders it comparatively worthless for manufacturing purposes. Hitherto, the attempts made to free the fibre from this substance, commercially speaking, have proved either abortive, or only partially successful. Phormium tenax has been taken up by experimentalist after experimentalist only to be laid down again in disgust as a stubborn, impracticable, exasperating plant; and the handsome reward of 2000*l.*, offered by the Colonial Government to any one who should effectually succeed in decorticating the fibre, remains still unpaid. I cannot but think, however, that practical science and perseverance will eventually meet with their reward even here; and the value of any process for reducing the Phormium tenax to a staple article of commerce may be judged of from the fact that any quantity of the plant in the raw, green leaf state could be procured in New Zealand, and that in the year 1856 we imported flax and hemp, chiefly from Russia, to the amount of nearly six millions sterling.

In giving the following Timber-table, compiled mainly from my own experiences as an amateur carpenter, I would remark that though the preponderance of certain trees in Canada and other wild wooded countries is a good agricultural index as to *soil*, it is not so, or not so much so, in New Zealand; and some writers have generalized on this point on very insufficient data. Thus, a Mr. Tuckett, a surveyor, somewhere asserts, that the Rimu is indicative of a *poor* soil—whereas the finest Rimu, and some of the finest soil in New Zealand, happen to be in one and the same place, namely at New Plymouth. All that present observations warrant us in saying is, I think, this—that Kauri and Taua forests indicate a poor soil and a rugged non-agricultural country; that a comparative abundance of Kahikatea indicates a good but *moist* soil, and low-lying or swampy ground; and that a comparative abundance of Mai, Rimu, Pukatea, and Karaka, indicates a rich dry soil, and an upland or undulating country. With the exception of the Kauri,* which grows separately and forms a large forest by itself, the New Zealand timber-trees mostly grow so intermixed, that a dozen varieties may frequently be found in the same acre.

* In the South, however, the Taua, the Totara, and even the Kahikatea, is each occasionally found forming small forests chiefly by itself.

## Dimensions, Properties, and Uses of the Twelve chief New Zealand Timber-trees.

Puriri (Iron-wood), equal in strength and durability to English Oak, is made the standard of comparison. "Dimensions" means the length of clear branchless stem from the ground up to the first limb, and the diameter of such stem half way up; it thus represents the "size of centre plank" which an *average* tree of each variety would cut. The *entire* height of some of these trees (trunk and head), such as the Kauri and Kahikatea, is sometimes 150 to 200 feet; and giants of each variety are occasionally met with *double* the diameter which is here taken as the *average*.

| Names. | Dimensions in Feet. | Locality of Growth, Sort of Wood, and Uses. | Strength. | Toughness. | Stiffness. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kauri . . . . (Yellow Pine.) | 60 × 4 | The most valuable Tree in New Zealand. Common in the Coromandel, Hokianga, Kaipara, and other northern coast districts; but not found south of Auckland. Produces large quantities of resinous gum, an article of export. The only cone-bearing tree in New Zealand. Wood, durable and moderately light; grain, close and straight; colour, brownish-yellow; works smooth and satin-like. Supplies splendid ship spars (exported to England for naval purposes) and first-rate wood for inside and outside house-work; for furniture, ship-planking, decks and fittings. | 99 | 102 | 90 |
| 2. Rimu . . . . (Red Pine.) | 50 × 3 | A most graceful Pine, best and commonest in the mid-northern forests. Heavier and harder than Kauri, and perhaps more durable; grain close and partially curled; works moderately well, but has resinous veins; takes a good oil polish. Colour, between coarse mahogany and rosewood, red with dark lines. Best general house-wood next to Kauri: and best general furniture wood in the mid-north. Bark used for tanning. | 81 | 95 | 90 |

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 3. Totara . . . (Mahogany Pine) | 40 × 4 | A fine Pine, most common in the south. Colour, brownish-red; works well, and splits freely. The single trunks of this tree, hollowed out, form the largest native canoes. Principal inner house and furniture wood in the south; and good stuff for shingles. | 61 | 57 | 49 |
| 4. Kahikatea . . . (White Pine.) | 60 × 4 | A tall, but rather ugly tree; best and most common in the south. Softest and lightest of the pines, but not durable; grain straight; works well, but at times rather woolly. Colour, white. Commonest house stuff in the south, where Red Pine is scarce; and has been used with success for boat-planking and shingles. A yellow variety, found at the south, is a much finer timber; and this sort may perhaps be as durable as Kauri. | 68 | 85 | 54 |
| 5. Tanekaha . . (say Pitch Pine) | 40 × 2 | A handsome small Pine, common in the north. In quality of timber it may be termed a superior dwarf Kauri. It may be used for all Kauri purposes where fine quality rather than large size of plank or scantling is needed; and lighter and tougher than Kauri, it is admirably adapted for spars and yards of smaller vessels. | 103 | 134 | 98 |
| 6. Matao, or Mai . (Black Pine.) | 40 × 2 | A common Pine in the interior forests, with a dark, yew-like leaf and aromatic resin. The wood very fragrant when burnt; close-grained and brittle; colour, reddish, with deep shades; works easily, takes a polish, and is likely to become a good furniture and in-door wood. | 96 | 99 | 93 |
| 7. Puriri. . . . . (Iron-wood.) | 30 × 3 | New Zealand Teak, less common in the south. Heavy, hard, close and greasy-grained; but easy working when green. Colour, dark greenish-brown. Indestructible for gates, fence-posts, and house-piles, &c., and a most valuable timber where combined strength and durability are required in moist situations. The wood is much drilled by a large grub. | 100 | 100 | 100 |

NEW ZEALAND TIMBER TREES—*continued.*

| Names. | Dimensions in Feet. | Locality of Growth, Sort of Wood, and Uses. | Strength. | Toughness. | Stiffness. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 8. Rata . . . . | 40 × 3 | A giant, scarlet-flowering, boa-constrictor—gradually killing the tree it fastens on, and becoming an immense tree itself. Common everywhere. Wood remarkably strong and tough, close-grained, moderately heavy and easy-working. An excellent wheelwright's wood; and affords good curves for shipwork. | 103 | 138 | 89 |
| 9. Pohutukawa . . | 30 × 2 | A flowering tree, growing on the cliffs of the northern bays and coasts. Trunk gnarled and twisted, with heavy crooked limbs. Wood hard and heavy like the Rata; excellent for ship-timbers, boat-knees, &c., and, like the Rata, very useful where curved timber is required. | 109 | 94 | 126 |
| 10. Mairé . . . . | 30 × 3 | Less common than most species. Wood very heavy, hard and close-grained; valuable for machinery work, and may be used for turning and Box-wood purposes. A dark variety is suitable for furniture. | .. | .. | .. |
| 11. Kóhekóhe . . | 30 × 1½ | One of the commonest but not least useful trees of the forest. Its red wood is rather like Cedar; splits freely, and is chiefly used as split-stuff for shingles, fence-bars, and paling. | .. | .. | .. |
| 12. Réwaréwa . . (Honey-suckle.) | 30 × 1 | A handsome flowering tree, common on the outskirts of the forests. Wood light and free-working; the grain handsomely flowered like the Baltic Oak. Used as split-stuff, and for coopers' work, and suitable for small common furniture. | 92 | 103 | 78 |

NOTE.—These, I think, may be called the dozen timber trees which have come into the most general use at present; but some half dozen others are used more or less for various purposes in different parts of the colony; and the forests contain several other species of timber *size* which have not yet been fully tried.

## CHAPTER VII.

### MINERAL KINGDOM.

The Rev. Richard Taylor, in his able treatise on the "Geology of New Zealand," states, that from the peculiar formation of the country, coal, copper, gold and the precious metals, will probably be found in abundance; whilst his late Excellency Captain Fitzroy, second governor of New Zealand, in one of his despatches to the then colonial minister, Lord Stanley, says:—

"Beneath the productive surface of these teeming islands are mineral stores as yet hardly known. If from merely scratching some projecting corners of the land, some twenty valuable minerals have been discovered, (coal, iron, silver, lead, copper, tin, nickel, manganese, alum, sulphur, cerium, bismuth, cobalt, and asphaltum,) what may not be anticipated after a few years of research in the interior?"

It is certainly true that various ores and mineral substances have already been discovered in New Zealand; and quite probable that others will be discovered as the country becomes more opened up by settlement. The slight search hitherto made has been confined to three or four spots; and most assuredly in regard to what her *mineral* Kingdom may give forth, New Zealand, even yet, is little more than the "terra incognita" of Tasman and Cook. Indeed, accidental discovery, rather than settled search, seems ever to have revealed the world's precious ores and metals; and they have sometimes lain, almost under our very eyes, undetected for years. It has been so in America, in Africa, in Australia. After twenty years' occupation of the country, the upsetting of a dray revealed the copper lodes, and created Adelaide's "Burra-burra." Hundreds of shepherds roamed the plains of Victoria for a quarter of a century little dreaming that they walked on gold; and though no country has less need of mineral wealth

than New Zealand, a few years may prove her to be as rich below the surface as she is above and on it.

With the exception of gold and a little coal and copper, however, none of the discovered New Zealand minerals have been worked—nor can I regard this as a matter for regret. It seems to me that with millions of arable acres equal, under good farming, to the production of forty bushels of wheat per acre, and with millions of pastoral acres equal to the support of millions of fine wool sheep, all lying waste and wild, New Zealand's *true* pursuits in these her early days, are the Plough and the Golden-fleece; and that when the waste has become the farm, when hill and valley are dotted with merino and short horn, it will be time enough to take the "pick" and leave the certain surface to adventure with possible Dousterswivels into the dark and dangerous pits and traps of mines and mining.*

Coal.—Coal (required in New Zealand for the development of a steam marine, rather than for fuel, the forests being sufficient to supply fuel, for generations to come) has been found in the north, south, and middle of the country. The small quantity hitherto required for the forges and the few coasting steamers, has been obtained mainly from the Pakawau coal-field in Golden Bay, Nelson; but quite recently a Company has been formed in Auckland for working the "brown coal" of that district. Indeed, the whole of the mountainous peninsula forming the north-west corner of the Nelson Province would appear to be stored with coal if not with gold. A gold party lately prospecting in a new part of this district reports, that—"vast quantities of coal were passed in very large seams, and a two-hundred-weight piece was broken off by us from one of the out-cropping seams."

The Austrian frigate "Novara," which has recently made a scientific voyage round the world, visited New Zealand last year, and at the request of the Colonial Government the courteous Commander of the vessel handsomely allowed Dr.

* Lord Bacon, in his Essay on Plantations, in advising the pioneer Settlers in a new country what to do, says—"but mail not too much under ground, for the hope of mines is very uncertain, and useth to make the Planters lazy in other things."—Good, my Lord!

Ferdinand Hochstetter, the geologist attached to the expedition, to remain in New Zealand for a time, in order that he might report on the geological formation and the mineral indications of certain districts. He examined the country around Auckland and afterwards proceeded to Nelson, and the following are the semi-official reports he made of the coal and gold fields :—*

"The *Brown-Coal Formation* is of very considerable extent, both in the Northern and Middle Islands of New Zealand, and is of similar character everywhere.

"Some months ago I furnished a Report on the Coal-field in the neighbourhood of Auckland, in the Drury and Hunua districts, of which I will repeat here the principal points. The Drury coal belongs to a very good sort of brown coal—to the so-called *Glanzkohle*, with conchoidal fracture. I was not able to convince myself of the existence of different series of seams, one above the other, on different levels. I am much rather of opinion that the same seam, disturbed in its level, occurs at the different localities in the Drury and Hunua district, where coal is found. The average thickness of that coal-seam may be estimated to amount to six feet. The section of the seam at Mr. Fallwell's farm can be taken as a fair average.

"The seam consists there of three portions: the upper part a laminated coal of inferior quality, one foot; then a band of shale, two inches; the middle part coal of a good quality, one-and-a-half feet; then a band of bituminous shale, six inches; the lowest part coal of the best quality I have seen, two-and a-half feet. Thus the whole thickness of the coal itself may be considered to amount to about five feet. The bituminous shale accompanying the coal contains fossil plants, principally leaves of *Dicotyledones*. It is remarkable that no fossil ferns are found in connection with the Drury coal-beds: it is the more so, as at the other locality which I must mention—on the West Coast, seven miles from Waikato Heads,—*only* fossil ferns, in a most beautiful state of preservation, are imbedded in gray argillaceous strata, alternating with sandstone and small coal-seams, of, pro-

* The "Novara" appears to have regarded New Zealand as being by far the most interesting country she visited in the course of her long voyage round the world.

bably, the same geological age as the Drury coal. A considerable number of specimens from both localities will, by a future examination, furnish the opportunity for determining the principal features of the Flora of the *Brown-Coal Period in New Zealand.*

"The fossil gum found in the coal is a kind of 'Retinite,' derived from a coniferous tree, perhaps related to the Kauri, but it is by no means identical with the Kauri Gum, which is only found in the surface-soil in those localities where there have been kauri forests. The fossil gum and kauri gum are very different in their qualities, as the most simple experiments in their ignition will show.

"The thickness of the forest and the inaccessibility of the country prevent our now ascertaining, in an exact manner, the extent of the Drury coal-field. Still the existing openings show an extent of the coal-field quite large enough to encourage any Company to work the coal in an extensive manner.

"I am glad to hear that a Company, under the name of 'The Waihoihoi Mining and Coal Company,' is formed, to begin the working of this coal.

"The same kind of coal I saw again on the northern slope of *Taupiri* and *Hakarimata range.* At *Kupakupa,* on the left bank of the Waikato, I examined a beautiful seam about 150 feet above the level of the river. The thickness of the seam then exposed was about 15 feet; how much greater the thickness may be it is impossible to say, as the floor has never been uncovered.

"This is the seam to which the attention of the inhabitants of Auckland was directed several years ago by my friend the Rev. A. G. Purchas. I believe several tons were at that time brought to Auckland; but, owing to various circumstances—the chief of which was the Native ownership,—the hope of obtaining a supply from thence for Auckland was abandoned. No better position could, however, be found for mining purposes; and the day cannot be far distant when it will be worked to supply fuel for the *steam navigation of the Waikato*—the *main artery of the Province of Auckland.*

"I have reason to believe that a coal-field of considerable extent exists on the borders of the wide plains on both sides of the Waikato, between Taupiri and Mangatawhiri—for which

district, shut in on all sides by ranges, I propose the general geographical name of '*The Lower Waikato Basin.*'

"A third coal-field exists on the western and southern boundaries of the very fertile alluvial plains above the junction of the Waipa and Waikato, which may be distinguished as '*The Middle Waikato Basin*'—the *future granary* of the northern portion of this Island.

"The localities in which coal has been discovered are the following:—in the Hohinipanga range, west of Karakariki on the Waipa, near Mohoanui and Waitaiheke; in the Hauturu range, on the upper branches of the Waipa; and again in the Whawharua and Parepare ranges, on the northern side of the Rangitote mountains.

"I subjoin comparative average analyses of the three principal kinds of fuel, from which it may be seen that the Drury coal is precisely similar to the European brown coals in the proportion of its three principal constituents:—

| | Wood. | Brown Coal. | Black Coal and Anthracite. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Carbon . . | 51·4 to 52·6 | 55 to 76 | 73 to 96·51 |
| Oxygen . . | 43 „ 42 | 26 „ 19 | 23 „ 3 |
| Hydrogen . | 6 „ 5·5 | 4·3 „ 2·5 | 5·5 „ 0·5 |

"I embrace here the opportunity of saying a few words on the *commercial value and applicability of the New Zealand Brown Coal.*

"Although of entirely different character, and, generally speaking, of inferior value, to the older coals of the primary formations, I cannot see any reason why this kind of coal should not be used in New Zealand for the same purposes as a similar brown coal is extensively applied to in various parts of Europe, and particularly in Germany, where it supplies the fuel for manufactures of all kinds, for locomotives and steamers, and for domestic purposes. I am perfectly familiar with this kind of coal, and can assure the people of Auckland, that the brown coal of this country is quite as good as that which is used in Germany for the purposes I have just mentioned. I would strongly recommend that any Company which may be formed for the purpose of working the coal should also at the same time establish *Potteries* for the manufacture of earthenware.

Remarkably suitable *Clays* of every necessary variety have been shown to exist in the immediate neighbourhood of the coal-fields, by the borings which have been made by the Provincial Government at my request.* By the establishment of such works, the value of the coal would be made apparent to everybody, and the manufacture itself, if properly conducted, cannot fail to be remunerative. It may be interesting to you to know that the far-famed 'Bohemian Porcelain' is burnt by means of brown coal, from a seam of, in some places, 90 feet thickness. While stating the uses to which brown coal may be applied, I must warn you against thinking that it is suitable for steamers having to make long sea-voyages. The bulky nature of the 'brown coal' will always prevent such steamers taking it on board when they can procure 'black coal.' But, on the other hand, its qualities as a gas-producing coal, as the above analyses show, will render it valuable as an article of export.

"PAKAWAU COAL-FIELD.—I come now to speak about the Pakawau coal-field, as probably belonging to the secondary period. The Pakawau coal-field overlies the mica and clay-slate formations of the western ranges. The Pakawau stream exposes various strata of the coal-field, its conglomerate, sandstone, shales, and seams of coal. There have been workings on the exposed seams on both sides of the stream. A quantity of coal extracted from a seam of four feet thickness on the north side, which has lain exposed to the weather for two years, and still remains in the condition in which it was extracted, at once convinced me of the difference existing between this coal and the other New Zealand coals which I have seen. The coal is a dense, heavy, black coal, of a laminated structure, breaking in large pieces, which do not crumble. In the evening I burnt the coal in a fire-place, and was pleased with the large amount of flame and heat given out by it, without sulphurous or other disagreeable smell. It burnt away to a clean white ash. Mr. Curtis has kindly forwarded to me an analysis of this coal, made

* Of these I would draw attention to No. I., 2, for common pottery No. I., 6 and 8, for finer stoneware, No. I., 7, for fire-bricks. The various coloured clays, No. II., 2 to 9, will be applicable to every kind of pottery. No. II., 8, may be used as a colour or pigment in the same way as ochre and umber are generally used.

in the year 1853, by Mr. Theoph. Heale, at Auckland. Mr. Heale proved the excellent qualities of the coal as a gas-coal; the quantity of carbon (not more than 53 per cent.) would not confer upon this coal a high character as fuel; but this low per centage probably arose from the piece submitted to analysis being mixed with shale. To me it appears that the coal must contain at least 70 per cent. of carbon, and that it will be found a very excellent coal for steam purposes.

"On the southern side of the stream, the old workings exhibited the following section:—

| | Ft. | In. | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Shale. | | | |
| Coal | 0 | 5 | Coal, in all, 2 feet. |
| Shale | 0 | 3½ | |
| Coal | 0 | 4½ | |
| Sandstone | 0 | 2 | |
| Coal | 1 | 2 | |
| Shale. | | | |

"Thus, the natural sections and the old workings show various seams, but none of them of great thickness, and in all of them more or less bands of shale.

"The dip of the seam is towards south-west—that is, towards the West Wanganui harbour, at an angle of twenty degrees, and the coal-field reaches, undoubtedly, from Pakawau to West Wanganui. In a coal-field of such extent, it may be with confidence affirmed, that seams of much greater thickness exist; and the way to ascertain their existence, is to make borings. That is the first thing for any company to do, which undertakes to work this very valuable coal-field.

"My reason for assigning to this coal-field a secondary age, is the existence of impressions of fossil plants, referable to calamites, ferns, and dicotyledons. Although the Pakawau coal-field does not belong to the carboniferous period, experience will show that the coal will rank in quality with the black coals of older date."

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Gold.—Gold has been discovered at Coromandel, near Auckland, but not, as yet, in paying quantities. Some three years ago, however, it was found at the Aorere, a wild and rugged district, about fifty miles north-west of the town of Nelson, forming

a part of the northern portion of that "Black Forest" region described at page 149, as extending from Cape Farewell almost down to Dusky Bay. The largest nugget yet obtained has been one of only 9oz.; there have been no great prizes, none of those "rushes to the Diggings" once so common in Australia; and from two to three hundred people, of the more sanguine, enterprising, or adventurous members of the community, appear to be about the number generally found at Aorere. A village named Collingwood has, however, been planted in the neighbourhood, and the total quantity of gold raised up to the present time may be nearly 50,000 ounces, of the value of some 200,000*l.*

Whether further "prospecting explorations" in the wild and unknown regions of the Aorere and the adjoining wilderness will or will not bring more gold to light is a point which time alone can solve; but unquestionably it would be opposed both to inferential facts, and to the laws of probability, to venture *now* to say that the Aorere and the hundred districts of the like character, extending from Cape Farewell to Dusky Bay, may not eventually boast their Ballarats and Bendigoes.

The following passage occurs in Dr. Hochstetter's Report of the Nelson gold-field:—

"In the mica-slate and clay-slate zone of the western ranges, we have the matrix of the gold. From the interest attaching to this subject, I may be allowed to repeat the limits of these gold-bearing formations. On the east these formations are bounded by the Takaka valley; on the west by the Aorere valley, so that its breadth is from fifteen to twenty miles, and includes the Anatoki and Haupiri ranges. In a southerly direction the same formations can be traced to the gorge of the Buller river. How much further it extends in that direction has not yet been ascertained; but, inasmuch as gold has been found at the northern extremity of the Southern Alps, and also in the gravels of the Mataura, in the Province of Otago, towards the southern extremity of the Backbone, it is not unreasonable to infer that the same gold-bearing zone may extend continuously throughout the whole length of the Middle Island.

"Before speaking more specially of the gold-fields, I wish to

correct some of the theories popularly current among the diggers, according to which gold is to be traced to the action of fire. The gold, in its original position, is in larger or smaller particles dispersed throughout the quartzose constituents of the mica and clay-slate formations. By the gradual wearing away of these rocks, through the action of the elements, extending over immense periods of time, large masses of debris have been formed, and nature itself has executed an operation of gold-washing, by collecting the heavier particles and depositing them in the gullies of the streams, or in the conglomerates covering the slopes of the hills.

"There are, therefore, two principal descriptions of diggings; either 'river diggings,' in the beds of the streams, or 'dry diggings,' in the conglomerate and gravel accumulated on the slopes of the mountains.

"I will first describe the best known and most worked of your gold-fields, namely, the Aorere and Parapara gold-field.

"THE AORERE AND PARAPARA GOLD-FIELD.—You are all aware that the gold in the Aorere valley is confined to the eastern side of the valley; the only traces of gold found on the western side are on the Kaituna stream, but not indicating any rich deposit on that side, which, as fertile agricultural land, must be left to the farmer. You know that all the tributaries of the Aorere river proceeding from the Haupiri range, as, for instance, Appoo's river, the Slate river with its different branches, the Boulder rivers, Salisbury creek, and also the Parapara river, which proceed northwards from the same range, have been more or less successfully worked by various parties of diggers. The rounded nature of the gold particles shows that the gold has been brought down by water; and the fact that the heaviest gold is found in the upper parts of the streams, points clearly to the mountains as the source of the metal.

"But it would be improper to speak about an Aorere gold-field, if the gold were confined to the deep and narrow gorges of the streams, cut down into the clay-slate rocks.

"The whole region of the eastern side of the Aorere valley, rising from the river bed towards the steep sides of the mountains at an inclination of about eight degrees, and occupying from the Clarke river towards the south, to the Parapara on the

north, a superficial extent of about forty English miles, is a gold-field. Throughout this whole district, on the foot of the range, we find a conglomerate deposited on the top of the slate rocks, reaching in some places a thickness of twenty feet. Pieces of driftwood changed into brown coal indicate a probably tertiary age of this conglomerate formation. Where a ferruginous cement binds the boulders and the gravel together, this conglomerate is compact; in other places only fine sand lies between the larger stones. Quartz and clay-slate boulders are the most commonly met with. This conglomerate formation is not only cut through by the deep gullies of the larger streams, but in some places washed by the more superficial action of occasional water, and so divided into parallel and rounded ridges, of which that portion of the district called the Quartz Ranges is a characteristic example. This conglomerate formation must be regarded as the real gold-field, prepared in a gigantic manner by the hand of nature, from the detritus of the mountains, for the more detailed and minute operations of man.

"While the less extensive but generally richer river-diggings afford better prospect of gain to the individual digger, the dry diggings in the conglomerate will afford remunerative returns to associations of individuals who will work with a combination of labour and capital. The intelligent and energetic gold-digger, Mr. Washbourn, is the first person who has proved the value of the dry diggings in the Quartz Ranges, and has demonstrated the fact that gold exists in remunerative quantities in the conglomerate. I am indebted to Mr. Washbourn for the following interesting details. He writes to me as follows:—'In the drives into the conglomerate of the quartz ranges, the average thickness of dirt washed is about two feet from the base rock; and the gold produced from one cubic yard of such earth would be, as nearly, as I can calculate, worth from twenty-five to thirty shillings. This includes large boulders; so that a cubic yard of earth, as it goes through the sluice, is of course worth more, as the boulders form a large proportion of the whole. Where the earth is washed from the surface to the rock, the value per cubic yard is much less; not worth more, perhaps, than from three shillings to six shillings per yard, and it would generally pay very well at that.'

"With this *data*, the following calculation may be made. We will reckon the superficial extent of the Aorere and Parapara gold-fields at thirty English square miles; the average thickness of the gold-bearing conglomerate, at a very low rate, at one yard; and the value of gold in one cubic yard at five shillings. *Upon this data, the value of the Aorere gold-field is* 22,500,000*l.*, *or* 750,000*l. for one square mile.*

"I am not a practical gold-digger myself, but I will leave it to those who are more versed in that pursuit to contrive the means by which this wealth may be best extracted from the soil. Considering that Mr. Washbourn was able to pay his men wages from ten to twelve shillings a day, and still to make a considerable profit, the richness of the deposit of gold in the conglomerate is clearly proved.

"You may allow me to add, from inquiries I made on the spot, the number of diggers working on the Aorere and Parapara diggings is not more than about two hundred and fifty. Although the diggers cannot be at work continually, a large portion of time being occupied in bringing their provisions across a rugged country ill-provided with roads, and occasionally stopped by floods in the rivers, it is considered that a digger earns on an average twelve shillings a day.

"The history of the gold-field does not record any large fortunes made by single diggers, but steady average gains. The largest nugget found was in the Rocky river, a nugget of 9 oz. 18 dwts.

"The whole produce of the gold-field, from the beginning, in 1857, up to the middle of August, 1859, is recorded, in the *General Government Gazette*, as about 150,000*l.*

"I may add that, looking to the position of the gold-field generally, and its proximity to the sea, there is probably no other gold-field which, with moderate outlay upon roads, could be made more easily accessible, or might afford greater facilities for being worked. I have very little hope that quartz reefs will be found in this district rich enough to pay for crushing.

"The country on the western side of the gold-bearing ranges, further south than the Clarke river, has not yet been perfectly explored with regard to probable gold-fields, and I proceed, therefore, to the eastern side of the gold-bearing formations.

"I may remark that there is no foundation for the belief, so

generally entertained amongst diggers, that gold-fields are only found on the western side of ranges, and not on the eastern.

"THE ANATOKI AND TAKAKA DIGGINGS.—From the same mica-slate and clay-slate zone, from which on the western side the gold-bearing branches of the Aorere valley run, on the eastern side the Takaka river with its branches takes its rise. It is, therefore, not surprising that gold is also found on those rivers. If the farmer settled on the rich alluvial plains of the Takaka finds markets bad, he has but to ascend to the higher parts and branches of the river to fill his pocket. Gold is found in sufficient quantity to pay river-diggings in the upper Anatoki, Waingaro, and Takaka, the heaviest nuggets in the Waitui river, which takes its rise from the Mount Arthur range. In the Anatoki valley a quartz reef is spoken of, which promises well. The interesting metal, *osmiridium*, as has been proved, by specimens forwarded for analysis to Mr. Clarke, of Melbourne, is a peculiar accompaniment of the Takaka gold. Titaniferous iron, magnetic iron, and garnets—not rubies, as generally thought—are everywhere found on the river-diggings of the province. It must be left to the energy of future explorers to determine if there be not, as it is most probable there is, a similar gold-field as the Aorere gold-field, hidden under the dense forests on the eastern slope of the ranges.

"WANGAPEKA.—With a view to exploring the country lying to the south of the Takaka, on the eastern side of the gold-bearing formations, I made a journey to the Wangapeka. My guide to that country, most difficult of access, was Mr. Clarke, who had formerly been prospecting there for gold. On this occasion I had the pleasure of the company of the Superintendent. The Wangapeka, as large if not larger than the Motueka, near its junction with the Sherry river, runs through a wide, terraced valley.

"The hills bordering the valley are composed of tertiary strata, marl, sandstone, and limestone. At places on the sides of the valley granitic rocks show themselves as the foundation of the tertiary strata. The boulders and shingle brought by the river from the deep gorge, through which it enters the broad valley, prove, on examination, that the river takes its origin in a

zone of hornblende-schists, and crystalline limestone, the continuation of the formations between Takaka and Riwaka. There is, therefore, no reason to expect an auriferous river-bed. I might here mention that this valley seems the peculiar home of wild pigs, the immense number of which have rooted up the whole surface. The wet weather we experienced prevented my exploring those rivers which take their rise further westward, in the mica-slate and clay-slate ranges as I expect, as, for instance, the Batten river and its branches. It was here that Mr. Clarke found the best result of his prospecting expedition. He found not only gold, but, on the edges of the tertiary formation towards the crystalline ranges, large seams of coal cropping out.

"As a very probable gold country, I should recommend the exploring of the high range situated between the sources of the Wangapeka and the gorge of the Buller. That range is, so far as I can judge, the continuation of the Mount Arthur, Anatoki, and Haupiri ranges.

"I shall hereafter find an opportunity to remark upon the Motueka diggings, and will conclude this portion of my lecture by stating that the Nelson gold-fields are a fact, and that which is at present known is but the beginning of a series of discoveries which time will bring to light."

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Copper.—Copper has been found on the north-east coast, near Monganui, and in the Great Barrier Island, and was once worked on a small scale, both at this latter place and at the Kawau, a small island about twenty miles north of Auckland. Owing partly, however, to the ore being much impregnated with sulphur, partly to the high price and scarcity of skilled mining labour, and to other causes, neither Great Barrier nor Kawau proved a successful speculation; and the works are now temporarily abandoned.

Copper, too, has at present eluded the grasp of the good people of Nelson. For years past they have been proclaiming the existence of certain copper-lodes, of marvellous richness, in one of the hills surrounding the town called the "Dun" mountain—no bad name, if we may be allowed a pun, for a mountain which, so far, seems to have "done" every one who has meddled with it. Perhaps every week for the last ten years one of the Nelson papers has devoted a column or two to this imposing hill:

something was always *being* found there, or something was always *not* being found there, or something was always *going* to be found there. Up to this day, however, except in regard to a substance called Chrome, it has been the "mountain in labour with the mouse," and proved, for the most part, only a mine of conversation and conjecture.

IRON.—Iron is common in various localities in the form of pyrites, or sulphuret of iron, and magnetic iron sand. Some of the rocks are powerfully magnetic. Dr. Shortland, speaking of a point near the Bluff in Foveaux Strait, says: "I seated myself on a rock to take some angles with the pocket compass, but was obliged to desist, owing to my seat being so powerfully magnetic. This treacherous influence is observable in so many parts of New Zealand that the compass, instead of being a trustworthy travelling guide, is often likely to lead one astray."

At New Plymouth, "iron-sand" is the common sand of the beach; and covers the shore for miles. It consists of the peroxyde and protoxyde of iron mixed, and yields about fifty per cent, of iron of the finest quality. An imperial pint of this sand, washed and dried, weighs four pounds, and a sixpenny magnet dropped on the beach, is taken up covered and almost hidden with metallic crystals. Messrs. Willis, Gann, and Co., Crosby Square, London, with that judicious enterprise they have ever displayed in promoting the young interests of New Zealand, once had some tons of this iron-sand brought home for Messrs. Stenson and Co. of the Northampton Iron Works; and the following is Mr. Stenson's report of a sample I requested him to assay:—

"Dear Sir,

"I have, during this week, carefully noted the assay, and find the lowest yield of steel-iron 38½ per cent. and the highest 59. I have forwarded to Mr. Carrington a piece, one side of which is polished and exhibits a silvery brilliancy, equal to the finest steel: though only just smelted in the crucible, this piece was of a yield equal to precisely 50 per cent.

"Yours truly,

"J. STENSON,

"*Iron Works, Northampton.*

"*C. Hursthouse, Esq.*"

Quite lately a great impetus has been given to the question of the commercial value of this Taranaki "steel-sand," as we may term it, by the enterprise of one of the principal settlers, Capt. Morshead. This gentleman, formerly resident in a mining neighbourhood on the borders of Cornwall, had long taken some interest in mining matters, and having resolved on emigrating to New Zealand with his family, was, it appears, mainly induced to make choice of New Plymouth by the results of an assay of some of the steel-sand which he once happened to see at my rooms. After a long correspondence with the local government he eventually succeeded in getting a grant of the Beach, and has lately returned to England for the purpose of having the ore scrupulously assayed, and its commercial value authoritively reported on. Specimens of steel and cutlery manufactured from the ore in London and Sheffield have been submitted to the most competent judges; and despite the prejudice found to exist in many quarters against a new article, the Taranaki steel has gradually and somewhat reluctantly been admitted to be a steel of the very finest brand — producible, too, in large quantities for the market at a price which would leave a handsome profit. Capt. Morshead is still in England prosecuting his enterprise, and intends, I believe, to return shortly with the machinery and labour necessary to enable him to commence the smelting of the ore and the production and export of the bar steel of commerce. The native disturbances, unfortunately existing in this district, will retard his operations; but though I am perhaps somewhat prejudiced against mines and mining (looking as I do on the wool mine as New Zealand's great legitimate mine in these her early days), I must confess that the hard facts gradually brought out by Capt. Morshead have done much to remove my indifference as to New Zealand's mineral wealth, and to induce me to think that the Taranaki steel-sand may eventually prove a considerable source of wealth to the beautiful little Province in which it is found.

Steel, we must recollect, is a great staple of commerce; if, too, guns are to be steeled and ships to be steel-plated, the demand for steel must greatly increase; whilst, in considering the practicability of establishing smelting-works at New Plymouth and exporting the bar-steel, we have to remember that

the enterprise would enjoy two great special advantages: the one, that as the sand* lies on, or rather *is*, the beach, none of those costly digging or mining operations commonly attendant on the raising of ores to the surface, would be needed; the other, that within a few miles of the ore there are millions of tons of forest-timber which in the process of clearing lands for agriculture would afford an unlimited supply of cheap charcoal, the fuel with which the finest brands of steel have ever been produced.

I may remark here, too, that since this sheet first went to press gold has been discovered both on the west coast of the South Island, and Wear, and Invercargill.

As to other ores, earths, and minerals, I may observe that pure sulphur is abundant, lead and manganese exist near Auckland, alum and nitre have been discovered at Wanganui and near the medicinal springs of the Roturua lakes, whilst it is not, I think, improbable that that valuable article of commerce, boracic acid, may eventually be found about some of the inland Solfatara or mineral pools of Taupo. Various useful earths, too—fire-clay, pipe-clay, and ochre—are common; slate, marble, granite, sandstone, and freestone are found in various parts; and limestone, though not so generally spread as would be desirable for agricultural and building purposes, exists in many localities in great quantity and of singular purity and strength.

* The following is a more recent analysis of the sand made by a high scientific authority:—

| | |
|---|---|
| "Oxide of Iron | 90·31 |
| Titanic Acid | 4·17 |
| Silica | 3·42 |
| Alumina | 1·65 |
| Lime | 0·37 |
| Traces | 0·08 |
| | 100·00 |

"The metallic iron contained in the sand is 65·77 per cent., a very large per centage indeed."

## CHAPTER VIII.

### NATIVES.

ORIGIN.—Strong personal resemblance, certain affinities in language and customs, and some traditional history, may satisfy us that the ancestors of the "Maori"* were of Malay origin, and originally emigrated to New Zealand from Hawaii, one of the Sandwich Islands, a group of the North Pacific, distant about 4,000 miles; and it has been conjectured that this emigration took place some 400 or 500 years ago.

It is thought that over-population led to a considerable early migration from Hawaii; and that under various leaders, numerous canoe parties, from time to time, put off from the parent island. Some of the emigrant-adventurers settled in the nearer islands of the Southern Polynesia; others, bolder navigators with better provisioned canoes, pursued their way from island to island through the summer seas of the South Pacific in search of a larger kingdom until at last, by accident or design, they reached New Zealand.

It is not improbable that some native indigenous race existed in New Zealand when the Hawiian emigrants arrived. But if so, these ancient New Zealanders were either eaten by the new comers, or were amalgamated with them, or were in some way blotted out as a distinct race, quite as effectually as the ancient Britons were by their Roman and Saxon conquerors. The present New Zealanders are a mixed race. Either their emigrant ancestors did not *arrive* a pure race from Hawaii; or, after arrival, they amalgamated with some indigenous race; or they afterwards intermixed with *later* emigrant adventurers,

* The word "Maori," which they apply to themselves as their peculiar name, signifies anything that is native or indigenous, and has the same meaning as the word "Moor," applied to the Moorish race.—*Taylor.*

arriving from Tahiti, Waiho, or other over-peopled islands of the South Pacific. The majority, allowing for differences of food and climate acting on a dozen generations, resemble the good-looking Sandwich Islanders, the parent stock; but some, much darker, have woolly hair; others have a look of the Tartar with a dash of negro blood; whilst a few are startlingly like Jews.

EARLY CUSTOMS.—Cannibalism was common among them up to thirty years ago; but the custom is now extinct. Tattooing, Tapu,* Slavery and Polygamy were also all common customs among them a few years since, and these customs are not yet extinct. They possessed a mythology rudely resembling the classic heathen. Gods and goddesses, benign and malignant deities, ruled over elemental kingdoms; whilst gods and demi-gods, Jove-like, seduced the fairest daughters of men and peopled the elements with Heroes. They offered no human sacrifices; but possessed a savage priesthood who propitiated the Deities with rites and ceremonies; and who were the prophet oracles of the people, both in war and peace. They seem to have had no very distinct ideas as to existence in a future state, but to have believed that the spirits of the departed went to a sort of Hades, where the most wicked were finally annihilated. Firm believers in sorcery, witchcraft and incantations, they held that not only wicked deities and priests, but that *every* person could bewitch; and that sickness was the effect of witchcraft. Infanticide of female children was common, but age was respected, and adultery was death; though then, as now, girlhood chastity was little valued, and virgin brides were rare.

Split into numerous tribes and sub-tribes, ruled with patriarchal despotism by hereditary chiefs, they seem ever to have lived with each other in a state of chronic hostility—periodically bursting out into the acute form of internecine massacre. Tribe-feuds and bloody wars did not, however, arise among the New Zealanders as they arose among the Australian aborigines and the American red men. The *Maori* had no wild larder of

* The ceremony of making some person or thing sacred and untouchable; or some spot, path, or river, impassable, for a time.

opossum and kangaroo to defend against hungry marauders; no Sioux or Black Feet rover trapped his beaver, or harried his deer. The Maori was a stationary, man-eating, fisher-farmer—not a hunter living by the chase, and *forced* to fight to obtain, or to preserve, his daily food. The Maori fought because blood for blood was the one law which he ever obeyed; because revenge was the precious heir-loom bequeathed by ferocious father to ferocious son; because victorious war gave him wives and slaves; and because, like the Irishman, he loved fighting for fighting's sake. In the year 1600, some Waikato native might slay a Ngapuhi; Ngapuhi would know no rest till a dozen Waikato had been cut off in return; a counter retaliation would ensue; some of the victims would be distantly related to other tribes; these would take the war-path; idle tribes would rush in to join the fray as amateurs; the bloody circle would go on widening and widening; until at last, in three generations, the one murder would be forgotten in the thousand, and none of the belligerents would know, or *care* to know, the original cause of quarrel.

Thus the Temple of Janus was scarcely ever closed in New Zealand. Two neighbour tribes might patch up a month's truce and club tomahawks for the slaughter of a third tribe—but the pastime over, slaves divided, convivial ferocity duly displayed in the cannibal feast and the war-dance, they would straight revive their old feud; or step on the trailed coat to begin a new one; and would fight with such exterminating fury as, sadly enough, to remind one of nothing so much as of the old story of the "Kilkenny cats."

NUMBERS AND DECREASE.—It is strange that a missionary author so well informed as the Rev. Mr. Taylor should appear blind to the fact that the New Zealanders were once a far more numerous people. It may be that their former numbers were overrated, and from the cause which Mr. Taylor assigns. But after making ample allowance for this there would still remain anew deserted gardens, villages, strongholds, and fortifications, to prove the former existence of a much larger population. Such exterminating internecine wars as the New Zealanders long waged with each other, coupled with their short-sighted

policy of destroying female infants as incumbrances in war, must in a few generations have thinned the ranks of even a populous people. Old whalers point to bays and creeks once alive with native settlements where, now, no canoe is to be seen; and patriarchal Maories show the localities of Tribes whose very names are becoming extinct. Indeed, nothing is more freely admitted among the natives themselves than this fact of decrease of numbers; and without troubling ourselves with speculations as to what was the maximum of population ever attained by the Maori race, or as to what (and when) was its greatest ratio of decrease, we may safely conclude that if it be about 50,000 now it was full double this number a hundred years ago.

CAUSES OF DECREASE.—Such decrease has been attributed to the following causes:—1st, to some ethnological law of nature that the black man shall disappear before the white man; 2nd, to a change of dress and diet; 3rd, to European-introduced diseases and to intemperance; 4th, to a blighting sense of inferiority and degradation in the presence of the white man.

Now it is *not* a law of nature that the black man shall die out where the white man comes. The two live and flourish together in Asia, Africa and India. Where the Settler comes, rum in one hand, rifle in the other, to seize the hunting-grounds of a *chase-subsisting* people, as in America and Van Diemen's Land, *there*, he will drive back, reduce, or even extirpate either red or black man. But this fact no more proves the existence of any ethnological law of nature that Whites must consume Blacks than the fact of one man's getting drunk on gin proves the existence of any teetotal law of nature that no man shall taste port. No life-supporting hunting grounds have been wrested from the Maori. He cultivated garden-spots out of millions of fertile acres when the white man came—he did so ever after—he does so now.

The *change* of diet and dress has been an *improvement* in diet and dress. Physiologists hold that a variety of food is best for man: formerly, the Maori had but fish and potatoes; now, in addition, he has bread and meat. Considering, too, the sudden artificial changes of temperature to which he exposes himself, the new blanket is probably a more life-preserving

garment than the old mat. Scrofula is certainly prevalent among them; but, with all deference to Dr. Thompson, no sure proof, I think, exists that this is either a new or an introduced disease. They have never been swept off by small-pox or by fever epidemics; whilst as to intemperance, they are so sober a people that in five years I saw but five or six in a state of intoxication. The fourth assigned cause savours of the joke. The Maori ungrudgingly admits our superiority in the soft arts; he regards us as the expertest of traders and tailors; but still holds, despite Heke's rout and Te Rauperaha's capture, that in the noble art of war, or in any work of *manhood*, the Maori is at least quite equal to the Briton.*

The main cause of decrease is, I think, the small proportion of women and the *sterility* of such small proportion. And a minor cause may be, neglect of sick children, occasionally amounting to unwitting infanticide, and the prevalence of a scrofulous diathesis.

Certain local statistics, corroborated by the reports of colonists familiar with the native life, may convince us that to every 100 males there are not more than 75 females and 40 children.† Statists familiar with the laws of population would, I think, tell us that such a disproportion as this is, alone, sufficient to account for a rapidly decreasing population. This "fewness-of-women-state" has gradually been brought about by the infanticide of female children in war; by the lesser care which seems to have been bestowed on the rearing of female children in peace; and by certain life-shortening sexual and hard-labour evils to which female children are exposed when arrived at girlhood and womanhood. The still more remark-

* The Natives well know that in our "brush" with Heke, Rangihaeata and Mamaku, we were always aided by friendly tribes. Indeed the New Zealander though now something of a farmer, is still a natural soldier with an inherent liking for war; and in regard to bravery, physical and intellectual endowments, the race, if they could only be trusted, could still, in case of emergency, give the Queen half-a-dozen regiments whose "rush" might discomfit even the Guards; and whose very look, as "slipped dogs of war," might well scare a nervous foe off the field.

† By the Blue Book of 1858, there were 26,000 males over 14 years of age, and 19,000 females, with 6,000 males under 14 and 5,000 females. Females, too, appear to be decreasing in a far more rapid ratio than males: in 1858 the Maori population in Canterbury was 630, by 1860 it had exhibited a decrease of 64—of which 52 were females and 12 males.

able "fewness-of-children-state" is, I think, mainly attributable to a fact to which missionaries are, or affect to be, somewhat blind—namely, the common want of chastity among the girls, and the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes before marriage, resulting in barrenness and wide-spread infertility.*

LOCALITIES.—The 55,000 natives now left in New Zealand are divided into some dozen chief tribes, and into numerous sub-tribes and "Harpu;" and are almost entirely located in the North Island—1st, in a chain of Cook's Strait and west-coast villages, extending 400 miles from Wellington to Waikato; 2nd, in a chain of east-coast villages extending 300 miles from Ahuriri to the Bay of Plenty; 3rd, in inland villages planted round the hot springs of Taupo and Rotorua, and along the banks of the Wanganui, and Waikato; and 4th, in various villages scattered through the long peninsula north of Auckland and about the Bay of Islands. The distribution of this population in the various Provinces is about as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Auckland | 38,000 |
| Taranaki | 3,500 |
| Hawkes' Bay | 3,500 |
| Wellington | 8,000 |
| Nelson and Marlborough | 1,000 |
| Canterbury | 600 |
| Otago | 500 |
| Stewart's Island, 200; Chatham Islands, 500 | 700 |
| | 55,800 |

BRITISH LAW.—They are still ruled, or rather *led*, by hereditary or self-created chiefs; for under injudicious missionary guidance, and in the presence of a greater power, the old sway and rule of their great hereditary Chiefs has been considerably weakened and impaired. They are supposed to be under British law; but this is a mere Colonial-Office and Exeter-Hall fiction. Town-dwelling natives are made amenable to British tribunals; but in the "Bush" many Maori laws and customs still prevail; and when a dozen natives have been shot in some native quarrel, Government, as yet, has scarcely thought of interfering. If a settler were robbed or maltreated by a bush-native, his chief would sometimes deliver him up to a native

* I never met with a native couple having more than four children alive. One, two, and three, are the common numbers; and nothing surprises the native women more than the large families of the colonists' wives.

policeman, and sometimes not; in which latter case he might himself either inflict some pecuniary punishment on the culprit, or pass him over with only a reprimand.

CONVERSION. — MISSIONARIES AND MISSIONARY TEACHING.— Quite three-fourths of the New Zealanders are now missionary converts: perhaps in the proportion of one Roman Catholic to four Wesleyans and eight Churchmen. Many undergo the ceremony of baptism and re-naming, regularly attend church or chapel, pay a somewhat Scotch or Pharisaical observance to the Sabbath, and discuss polemics and the merits of their rival churches with considerable gusto and astuteness. How much, or how little, of this conversion may be Christianity; how much, or how little, of it may arise from the circumstance of the new religion being the *fashion*, and a passport to the rich missionary countries of blankets and tobacco, is not a matter on which we should care too closely to inquire. Whites as well as Blacks may pray because it pays to pray; and if, by calling himself Peter and going to chapel in a beaver hat, the Maori is likely to become a better customer and a better man, surely his doing so is a gain to the community and no loss to himself. A gentleman, though, from whom, in a following chapter, I shall be sorry to differ; but with whom, here, I am sorry to agree, expresses the following opinion on this subject of conversion:—

"What has been the effect of the religious teaching of the missionaries on the native character? I am afraid that it is little more than skin-deep. No doubt there are instances in which individuals have been brought actually under the influence of religious principle; but I speak of the bulk of the natives who profess Christianity. With most of them it is a mere name, entirely inoperative in practice. They will exhibit an attention to forms which would, and often does, mislead a stranger; but the next hour they will exhibit all the habits of the unconverted savage. Thus, when travelling, about four years ago, in the Wiararapa, I came upon a native encampment one Sunday evening. It rained, and we required some assistance towards building a hut, and wished to purchase some potatoes. Not a finger would the natives move because it was

the sacred day. The next morning the same individuals attempted most deliberately to cheat us; and one of them, who had undertaken to guide us, for hire, to a river about ten miles off, attempted to trick us by declaring one we came to, at half the distance, to be the one we sought; and he endeavoured to force us to pay and dismiss him, by seizing a gun which one of us had carelessly laid down. They will also exhibit smatterings of Scripture, which would lead one to believe them better informed than they are; though their applications of it are often sufficiently ludicrous. One of them, whom the governor was upbraiding with having sold his land three or four times over to different parties, justified himself by quoting the passage, 'After thou hadst sold it, was it not thine own?' Another, a very intelligent native, too, to whom I was pointing out the impropriety of his having three wives, replied, 'Oh, never mind; all the same as Solomon.' A much more serious misapplication of the Scriptures occurred during the late war, when many of them tore up their Bibles to make wadding for their guns."—*Fox's Six Colonies of New Zealand.*

In the earlier days of the colony, the missionaries brought great scandal on their cause by the rapacity or alacrity they evinced in getting from the natives large quantities of land; and the prominent part they took in the misgovernment of the country under Captains Hobson and Fitzroy sadly retarded the progress of the young colony, and was alike injurious to the European and to the Maori. And though of late years they have interfered less, or less officiously, in public matters, they have ever been, and still are, a quasi-political party—a party, too, whose lease of power would expire the moment the scales should drop from the Maori's eyes, and he should come to see that the white man was using him fairly, and that he had far more gifts to be grateful for than injuries to avenge. Despite their political meddlings, however, I am not a colonist who regards the missionary body as an obstructive incumbrance idly living on the fat of the land. On the contrary, if they would confine themselves to the church and glebe, I would endow every married missionary with a 500-acre freehold; and vote a grant of public money to every denomination of English Christians who would found a missionary establishment. But

saying this, I would also say that though the missionaries have done both harm and good in New Zealand, they have not done *all* the good, even in their proper sphere, which their indiscreet partisans insist on our believing they have done. Little more than a quarter of a century ago, the New Zealanders were ferocious cannibals, gorging at bloody feasts on slaves and war victims, and the terror of every shipwrecked mariner cast on their fatal shores—now, they are at least professing Christians, pursuing, until quite lately, the arts of peace hand in hand with the white man, and owners like him of corn fields, flocks and herds. Unquestionably, this great stride in civilisation is attributable to the missionaries. But there are *two* sorts of missionaries, sacred and secular; and the latter, the Emigrant, bringing the plough, the ship, the mill, the shop, food, clothes, the industrial arts, and the practical example, has probably done as much in converting and civilising the New Zealander as the former, armed even with the Bible. Further, it seems to me that, in the work of converting the heathen, Christianity and Civilization should go *together:* the plough with the prayer-book, the model cottage with the chapel; and I cannot but think that if the missionaries had proselytized more in the spirit of this doctrine, and had sought rather to show the native how to *live* than to teach him how to *die*, they would now have numbered more sincere converts to Christianity among the Maori race, and found among them many more rich and powerful supporters of the church.

LANGUAGE.—The New Zealanders possessed no written language; but the missionaries, perhaps unfortunately, gave them one, and reduced the language to grammatical rules. The alphabet is formed by eight of our consonants and our five vowels; the latter, with the exception of the U, which is oo, are pronounced like the French. Simple in construction and pleasing in sound, the language is not difficult to acquire; and almost all the colonists' intercourse with the natives is carried on in the Maori tongue. A Maori grammar, dictionary, and vocabulary, by Archdeacon Williams, price 7*s.* 6*d.* (studied with advantage on the voyage out), may be procured at Stanford's, 6, Charing Cross.

PROVERB SPECIMENS OF THE LANGUAGE.

| | |
|---|---|
| He pai tangata ékore e reia; he kino wahine ka reia. | Who looks at a handsome man? but let a woman be ever so ugly, men will still run off with her. (This proverb surely tends to show that the ladies are singularly scarce.) |
| Tenei ano a mutu, kei roto i tona ware pungawerewere. | The spider is not seen when hid in his web—and a man's real meaning lies hid in the recess of his heart. |
| Kotahi te koura a wetaweta, tutakina te hiku. | Don't halve the crawfish—give it whole. (Don't make two bites at a cherry.) |
| He kuku ki te kaniga, he kaka ki te haere. | A muscle at home, a parrot abroad. (A man of no consequence at home sometimes makes himself of great consequence abroad.) |
| He iti, he iti kahikatoa. | Though little, he is still a kahikatoa. (You must not despise a little man; for, though little, he is still a kahikatoa—a small tree remarkable for its strength.) |
| Ka kotia te taitapu ki Hawaiki. | The road to Hawaii is cut off. (An expression used by a desperate character who braves the laws. He has passed the Rubicon.) |

PHYSICAL APPEARANCE.—The men (straight, lithe, well-limbed fellows, five feet eight and ten high, weighing eleven to twelve

'stone) are not unlike burly, dirty, well-bronzed Gipsies. In sustained strength and powers of endurance they are perhaps scarcely equal to the robust race of white settlers; but they have plenty of "pluck," and are ugly customers either to row or race with, wrestle, or fight. The ladies, somewhat "pétite," are by no means so good-looking as the men. Highly precocious, generally leading a sexually dissolute life from childhood, marrying early, and then performing a large share of field labour, they soon become bent and broken, are old at forty, and repulsively weird and witch-like at sixty. A few—a very few—of the high-born "Rangatira" girls are, however, richly beautiful—displaying that lithe elastic figure, that soft brilliant eye, Grecian face and rosy brown complexion, set off by glossy black hair falling to the knees, and a free Diana step, that might create a crowd in Regent Street, and drive blonde beauties to despair—or paint.

Mode of Life.—Domestic Habits.—Dress, &c.—A tribe generally lives together in little communities of from 50 to 200 individuals in various villages (Pah) scattered over their district. These villages, generally planted on some hill or precipice near the coast, or perched on some river's cliff, cover half an acre to two or three acres of ground. A common (peace) Pah consists of two or three rows (four and five feet apart, and often with a gap between) of stout split paling ten to twelve feet high, lashed with flax and creepers to posts and cross-rails: entered by two or three narrow posterns, and divided by similar paling into numerous little labyrinth-like passages, courts, and squares. Here, we find the houses—little rush-and-pole verandah-huts, devoid of window, door or chimney, and displaying the fire-brands smoking on the floor. Here, too, are the stacks of fuel, the Warepuni, some chief's or rich man's better house, and perchance some bell-decked wooden chapel. Here, too, is the larder—kits of kumera and potatoes, maize and wheat, dried eels, roots and berries, stowed aloft on shelves or poles away from rat and dog. Here, too, will congregate the hundred pests of the village: yelping curs and shrillest cocks, monstrous cats, fleas by bushels, a goat or two, pet calves and foals, intrusive pigs, the gloomy Kaka tied to his pole and bewailing his fate in

indignant screams like Hiawatha's felon raven, and the mocking Tui caged but clamorous.

In eating, the New Zealanders follow the Continental, rather than the English fashion—having two meals a day, "*le déjeuner aux doigts*" about ten; and the undress dinner at sunset. Their simple steam-cooking would make Soyer or the toughest Artiste edible and tender: smooth round stones are heated, rolled in a shallow pit and covered with green leaves; a little water is then poured in, and the food (potatoes, fish, birds, or pig—no *man* now)—is placed on the stones, packed up with leaves and flax baskets, and then covered in with a layer of clean earth. In an hour or so, the earth is carefully removed, the oven unpacked and the food taken out, put into little fresh-plaited flax baskets, and set before the people; who squat down in little groups in the verandahs and straight fall to with finger and tooth. Though our Maori friends seldom go near soap and water, and look on washing as waste of time, they are clean in their eating, if not nice as to what they eat; and though they have no knife, napkin, nor finger-glass, provide a new plate for every meal.

The potato is still their staple vegetable; and wild ducks, pigeons, parrots, wekas, tuis, and titis; eels, lampreys, sea-fish, crawfish, and shell fish, still form the greater portion of their animal food. But they grow the kumera, taro, hue (a gourd which forms their crockery ware), carrot, turnip, cabbage, pumpkin, and water melon; the Plain supplies them with fern root and the Forest furnishes the pitau, nikau, karaka, and kickie. Bread and pork, too, are becoming more regular articles of diet; and tea, sugar, and various shop articles, are frequently purchased during their trading visits to the Settlements. In fact, the Maori can now live more generously than many of our Scotch and Irish peasants; and has not only enough for himself, but can afford to feast his friends. They have not yet acquired a very general taste for spirits, and the law forbids their buying it; but they like beer, and would, I think, seldom refuse to get tipsy on sweet wines, such as sack, champagne, or metheglin. Men women and children, however, are inveterate smokers of short pipes and negrohead; and much as you may present an English Belle with a pair of gloves,

you may present a Maori Miss with a pipe and pound of tobacco.

DRESS.—The usual and the sole apparel of many of the men, the year through, night and day, is still our common white or red blanket fastened at the neck, and worn like the Roman toga. Shirts and trousers, however, are now frequently worn; and near the towns, on high days and holidays, some Exquisite, knowing, I presume, the "il faut souffrir pour etre beau," will array himself in dress-coat or surtout, and ogle the girls in tall hat, stiff collar, and tight boots. The ladies, simplex munditiis, are chiefly arrayed in pink and blue cotton "roundabouts" (a free-and-easy, bed-gown, sort of garment, cut short), with a blanket for a mantle; but they often have silks and satins in the "kist" at home; and gay damsels, at feast and races, will take the saddle with gauntlet and silver whip, habit, hat, and plume. The Maori likes to partake of the amusements of the settlers; is a bold rider at races; and enjoys himself at regattas, anniversary-fêtes and merry-makings, with something of that cheerful vivacity and good-humour which delight us in the French. A Chief, asked to dine with the Governor, will acquit himself with naïve elegance; and on his return will relate to his listening village the minutest features of the feast: what he had to eat and drink, what the Governor said to him, and what he said to the Governor, how the lady who sat next him was not so pretty as the Governor's wife, but wore more rings; and how another fair creature pestered him with silly questions, and even asked him to dance. Still, with all this, we cannot visit these people without noticing among them some little trait or other which unpleasantly enough will remind us that the host, with whom we are eating and drinking, has very probably, in his younger days, banqueted on human flesh; and no one but a lunatic or missionary could live long among them without discovering that in many things their boasted civilisation is still but a mere varnish, and that it is still "grattez le Maori et trouver le Sauvage."

LABOUR.—They will occasionally take a contract from the settlers for clearing timber-land, or for harvest work or road-

making; and, round the towns, they will sometimes work at fencing, firewood-splitting, or other little jobs, by the day. Now and then, too, a girl or lad may serve in some missionary's or old settler's house, as a sort of "American help;" but they do not perform much labour for the Europeans, and are chiefly, perhaps better, employed, in working for themselves in their own fields.

AMALGAMATION.—The early New Zealand whalers, sealers, and squatters, generally took Maori mistresses; and the progeny of this intercourse is a handsome race of half-castes numbering some 500. A few connections of this nature still exist, and here and there a marriage, even, has taken place between some Settler and a native girl. Personally, I should have no objection to espousing a Maori belle with a handsome dowry of wild pigs, stream, and forest—but tastes differ, and for the benefit of any bachelor reader who might think of trying for some chief's daughter I am bound to say that although he might do worse, it is just possible that he might do *better*. The lady, herself, might be black perfection, and with shoes and stockings on, and the pipe hidden, might bring him credit, or notoriety, anywhere. But, unfortunately, in marrying the lady you not only marry her mother, but her whole *Tribe*. Little free-and-easy parties of fifty or a hundred of your kinsmen keep dropping in on you, for a week or two, in a friendly way, during your lifetime, with such regularity, that you may be said to pass a large portion of your existence in a state of chronic hospitality; and may chance to find that your Princess has endowed you with a little army of black satellites and blood retainers who much prefer carousing in your halls to labouring in your fields; and who, though eager enough to fight your enemies, might now and then display no great reluctance to fighting you or your friends.

I think that only three or four marriages have taken place between white women and Maori men; and looking at the very small proportion of Maori women, their licentious girlhood habits, their inferiority in civilisation, and low social qualities, I conceive it to be highly improbable, if not impossible, that there should be any general intermixture of races; and hold

that if amalgamation is ever to do anything to save or change the Maori it will do nothing till the Maori has very considerably changed himself.*

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE.—As explained in Chapter II. all the wild lands in New Zealand, or to speak more closely, all the unbought wild lands of the North Island, some twenty millions of acres, with the timber and all which is on and under it, belong

* "The great excess of males over females among the natives tribes will of itself prevent in a great measure intermarriage between white men and native women. In addition to which, it may be mentioned, that until lately, at least, the missionaries encouraged marriages among the natives at an injuriously premature age of the females to prevent their being sold to white men for illicit purposes; a practice now suppressed by the tone of society which exists in this colony. These early marriages have become habitual among the natives, and it is painful to witness its result upon the diseased and feeble generation which is now growing up. An educated European who marries a native woman, must give up all idea of peace and domestic comfort. His wife can never be his friend and companion; she may be his servant, for to serve somebody she has always believed to be her destiny in life. The natives are worse than the Scotch for tracing kindred; and his wife's relations are in his house morning, noon and night, eating, smoking, talking and sleeping at his expense; angry if he attempts to turn them out, and seriously draining his pocket; for he can scarcely refuse them anything with safety, or at least with any prospect of peace.

"A Maori will never marry a white woman, because he feels her superiority, and he cannot make a slave of her as a native woman. No white woman, not even the most degraded, could be induced to unite herself with a Maori—to herd native fashion in a *pa*, amid dirt, vermin, and discomfort, in every conceivable form—to carry enormous burdens, such as faggots of firewood, heavy kits of potatoes, maize or wheat, weighing generally fifty or sixty pounds—and to perform other laborious work exacted from their women by barbarous races wherever they may exist. Another obstacle to the amalgamation which our home legislators hope to effect is the apparently indomitable preference of the natives for the 'Pa.' This was unfortunately fostered in former times for purposes we need not here allude to. It seems almost an impossibility to persuade the natives to live in separate families after the European fashion. They like to herd together at night to talk. Their fear of evil spirits who are then abroad, as they think, deters many from stirring beyond the precincts of their pas. They like the stifling heat of their huts impervious to air, and as long as their tobbacco, or a bit of wood ember remains, there they will squat on their haunches and smoke and prate about Land—their eternal topic. Let any one who has been in the pas at night give an insight into what an Englishwoman would suffer if condemned to take part in these nightly conclaves. Let him describe the figures of dirty unwashed men, women, and children of all ages, squatting or lying about, accompanied by pigs and dogs; some wrapped in dirty blankets or ragged mats, augmenting the unwholesome effluvia of the place. Let him paint the natives 'at home,' and our readers will perceive that one means of amalgamation is impossible."—*Taranaki Herald.*

to the natives. But in addition to this noble and all but unused landed estate, and in addition to their villages, gardens, pigs, guns and native chattels, they have created and acquired (mainly with moneys received for wild land, for agricultural produce, and for labour) a considerable property in other wealth. In the absence of any statistics, any estimate as to the amount of this property would be a mere conjecture; but we know that it comprises a fair stock of carts and agricultural implements, hundreds of horses and cattle, some fifty coasting-vessels, sailed chiefly by themselves, a few little flour-mills, and a considerable sum in silver and gold.

They are exceedingly fond of money, knowing its value to a penny; but are keen traders rather than hoarding misers; and shrewd natural lawyers, bringing to business a cleverness and dexterity of practice that might extort the admiration even of the Minories and Petticoat Lane. They are, however, rich as tribes rather than as individuals: most of their natural and much of their acquired property appearing to be owned, or at least enjoyed, by a group of families in common, rather than by any one exclusive member in particular. Thus, there is neither great individual wealth nor poverty among them. Even the chiefs are richer than common men more in power than in wealth, and seem to be the recipients and dividers of land-sales monies, and other property, rather than the keepers or consumers of it. When a man dies he may, perhaps, make a verbal will bequeathing his property to his male relations, but never to his daughters; it being gallantly held that a lady is sufficiently valuable in herself to need no bait of fortune to enable her to hook a husband—a practice and a theory which, I regret to say, have not been very cordially received by certain enterprising colonists who have looked on chiefs' daughters and sighed for amalgamation.

Intercourse and Mode of Trade.—Several of the natives live in or around the towns and villages of the North Island, and form a portion of the regular urban and suburban population. These hawk about their fruits and garden-produce, firewood and pigs; employ themselves occasionally as boatmen, sailors, policemen, postmen, guides, and messengers; or, if lazy

and unambitious, as is often the case, will prefer to smoke about from house to house and make a round of morning calls. Further intercourse takes place through the white men, the little squatters living among the natives, visiting the towns with their Maori friends; and through the circumstance of tourists and others stopping at the native villages when travelling through the interior. But *trade* more than anything else has tended to unite the races, and, such as it is, to cement the union. Once a-month, or so, some tribe or Harpu* will decide on visiting one of the Settlements on a trading expedition. Contributing and collecting their produce, they cram one or two canoes with kits† of wheat, maize, potatoes, kauri-gum, cape-gooseberries, peaches, melons, and apples, mixed with bundles of flax, fodder, and firewood; perchance, too, there may be a tui or so, or a kaka, together with pigeons, poultry, pigs, dogs, and cats; when a dozen men women and children will creep in and paddle away with the lively freight to market. Safe arrived, they put up a rush hut, or proceed to the Maori hostelry (a sort of public store and rough lodging-room erected for them), squat down and smoke for a few hours, and then leisurely proceed to hawk about their goods. Rather than accept sixpence less for a pig than some friend once obtained before, they will drive it to a dozen houses, with amusing remarks on the instability of trade and the fall of pork. The cargo sold, they commence their purchases of blankets, clothes, groceries, crockery, ironmongery, and tobacco. Slow sellers, they are even slower buyers; insisting always on having the best article at the lowest price. An old chief will minutely examine a dozen caps for an hour before he can fix on the best, and will then go to another shop to look for a better, before he buys it; whilst an urchin of five summers will turn over every pipe in the box to make sure of getting the biggest. Shopping finished, they load their canoes and paddle slowly back; halting at every friendly village on the route, to discuss the news and impart the market-prices.

Political Status.—Numbers of the natives have property sufficient to entitle them to the suffrage. They are good public

* A sort of sub-tribe, or group of families.
† The "kit" is a plaited green flax basket.

speakers; and some of the leading chiefs might, I think, be stimulated to take a useful part in public affairs. Hitherto, however, they seem to have been for the most part utterly regardless of provincial politics, and have been known to sit and smoke unmoved amid the most rousing orations of our provincial hustings. The only instance I am acquainted with of their having ever attempted to possess themselves of any political power is that afforded by a southern native who, at election time, travelled some distance to the abode of the respected Superintendent of Otago to ask that functionary what he would give him for his vote.

Moral Character, Intellect, Education.—By superficial observers who have had only slight means of judging, the New Zealanders have been both overrated and underrated. The enthusiastic missionary visitor has entered a village and boldly proclaimed them a noble people, equal to the highest career; the "anti-aborigines" visitor has entered another village, and denounced them as greedy savages, fit only for extirpation. The good qualities of the Maori have, however, been vastly more *overrated* than *underrated*. Captivated by his bravery, we have forgotten his ferocity; charmed with his missionary conversion, we have excused his mercenary cunning; dazzled with his aptitude for civilisation, we have not cared to see his lingering inherent fondness for barbarism. Towards him it has not been "nothing extenuate nor aught set down in malice,"—but, "be to his virtues very kind, and to his failings very blind."

It is to be hoped that further civilisation will educe more good qualities than bad in the Maori, and that in 1870 we may find him a more loyal subject and a better man. But in their present state of semi-civilization I should call the Maori race artful, overreaching, suspicious and designing; singularly mercenary *

* I trust the reader will not think I relate the following anecdote as any proof of the mercenary disposition of the race—it is merely an amusing individual instance of the "no pay, no work" principle. A gentleman, riding near Auckland, suffered his horse to escape. A Maori approaching on the road, caught the beast, and shouted to the pursuer to know how much he would give him *not to let it go again!*

and ungrateful; and passionate, capricious, and revengeful; but not dishonest;* generally merry and good-humoured; high-spirited, and (to each other) neither ungenerous nor unkind; sensitive of ridicule, but fond of a good joke; inquisitive, and so femininely communicative as to be incapable of keeping even a life-secret.

In natural intellect they are undoubtedly quite equal to any European race. Indeed, I think a Maori child would learn to read and write more quickly than an English child; and if an average Maori boy and an average English boy of fifteen were apprenticed to a carpenter, both having equally good masters, and both equally fond of their pursuit, I think the young New Zealander would turn out his sash or panel-door sooner than the young Anglo-Saxon. The missionary schools in the Settlements and the branch native-conducted schools in the interior, have been successful in teaching the rudiments of knowledge. The Bible has long been a familiar book among them, though the spirit in which they interpret it is not always Christian-like or biblical; and Robinson Crusoe and one or two other little works have been translated. A Maori periodical, too, and a Maori newspaper circulate among them; and geography, simple and even fractional arithmetic, are becoming rather popular studies. Of 104 Maori labourers once employed by the Royal Engineer Department at Auckland, it was found that all were able to read the New Testament (in Maori), and that 102 could write: a statement which, as Mr. Swainson justly observes, could probably not be made of an equal number of common labourers in any country in Europe.

* I mean in the sense of not being thieves or pilferers. Sovereigns might lie about your floor, and the native would not steal one; but if he could "do" you in any bargain, he generally would, especially if he were a great missionary.

# CHAPTER IX.

## The Eight Provinces.

### AUCKLAND.

The northern Province of the North Island is estimated to contain 17,000,000 acres, an area almost as large as that of Scotland. Its extreme length from north-east to south-west is nearly 400 miles, its greatest breadth (near the meridian of 38°) is nearly 200 miles, whilst the sweep of its coast-line embraces some 300 leagues. Its present British population now amounts to some 38,000: the native population to about 38,000.

The chief natural characteristics of this Province are these:—1, a warmer climate, capable of ripening maize, and perhaps here and there the orange; 2, exclusive possession of the Kauri pine forests; 3, the presence of nearly two-thirds of the remnant of the native population; 4, possession of Lake Taupo, the largest New Zealand lake, and of numerous hot springs and chalybeate waters; 5, great facilities of water-carriage, the various estuaries, creeks and rivers affording transit for coasters, boats, and canoes, through nearly 1000 miles of country; 6, some thirty harbours, four being first class, and eight equal to the safe entry of vessels of 400 tons.

The reader will gain the best idea of this Province by glancing at it divided into five districts:—1, the long Peninsula forming the northern portion of the Province; 2, the town of Auckland and its rural neighbourhoods; 3, the "West-coast" district; 4, the interior or "Central" district; 5, the "East-coast" district.

The Northern Peninsula, from Auckland to the North Cape, is some 200 miles in length, by from 20 to 40 in breadth. In sea position and greater warmth of climate, it bears about the same relation to New Zealand as South Devonshire and Corn-

wall do to England. The surface is broken by wooded mountain ranges of moderate elevation, and a large portion of the western side is covered with the Kauri forests, here attaining their finest growth; but the country is richly watered, and presents clusters of fertile valleys running inland from the numerous ports, estuaries, and river harbours which are scattered along both coasts. Here we find the infant Settlements of Matakana, Mahurangi, Wangarei, Wangaroa, and Monganui, and the older ones of Kaipara, Hokianga, and the Bay of Islands, numbering their little pioneer communities of from fifty to five hundred settlers. Wangaroa, Monganui, and the Bay of Islands on the east coast (the latter one of the finest harbours in the world), have long been favourite recruiting stations of the American whalers. Hokianga and Kaipara, two fine estuaries on the west coast, are principal seats of the Kauri spar and timber trade; whilst Wangarei, a flourishing district about midway between Auckland and the Bay, appears to be a favourite locality with the Nova Scotian and North American emigrants, many hundreds of whom, as before observed, have actually abandoned these countries and removed 12,000 miles across the ocean to plant new homes in New Zealand.

No part of New Zealand is so rich in historic interest as this northern portion of the Province of Auckland. Some future Macaulay may relate that here, unharmed, the missionary fathers first raised the cross among ferocious cannibals; here, the first press was set up, and the first Bible printed in the native tongue; here the early colonisation of the country commenced, and here stood Kororareka, the old "Alsatia" of the Pacific; here the Treaty of Waitangi was signed by the Queen's first Governor and her Maori Barons; and here the "Red Cross" first fluttered in the breeze, and gave to Britain a "Britain of the South."

Rich in early associations, the Peninsula is the reverse of barren in natural gifts. Here are the forests of Kauri, the finest flax, and the great stores of gum; here, from a hundred valleys, will come large exports of farm and dairy produce, corn and fruits and honey, and oil and wool; here, peach and nectarine, pear and mulberry, bow their branches fruited to the

ground; and here, pomegranate and citron, olive and orange, might ripen in the summer sun.

A fleet of small coasters keeps up a brisk communication between these little northern Settlements and the capital; and the most distant may now be reached, from Auckland, by sea, in thirty hours. A road, however, now forming, called the Great North Road, will link them together by land, when Wangarei, which may be called the Central Settlement, will be brought within a day's ride of the metropolitan town; and for retired Indians, or for any who might prefer a warm climate, combined with proximity to the sea, perhaps no part of New Zealand would be found more suitable than this peninsulated Devonshire of the Province of Auckland.

Town of Auckland and Rural Districts. — Auckland (South latitude nearly 37°), the thriving capital of the Province, was founded by the first Governor of New Zealand, Captain Hobson, R.N., in 1840. The town and neighbourhood may number some 10,000 inhabitants, and the rural districts, lying within a circle of thirty miles, may number some 10,000 more. A glance at the map displays its commanding mercantile position. Planted on a neck of level land only six miles across, it stands on two harbours, Waitémata and Manakau. An arm of the former connects it with the rivers Thames and Piako, presenting water-carriage through fifty miles of country—an arm of the latter virtually connects it with the rivers Waikato and Waipa, navigable for canoes through some hundred miles of fertile valleys. Creeks and inlets of these two harbours indent the town and suburb shores at every point, and as a canal cut of four miles would unite them, and enable a frigate to glide from sea to sea, there is some reason for the boast that Auckland is the antipodean "Corinth of the South."

The eastern (Waitémata) harbour perhaps deserves to rank as the finest in New Zealand, and is at present the one chiefly frequented by shipping; but the western (Manakau) is a fine ocean inlet well suited for a fleet of steamers, and opening a short marine highway to New Plymouth, Nelson, Wellington, and all the Settlements to the south.

Auckland is built on the southern shore of the eastern

harbour, and a good metalled road of six miles, passing through continuous farms, villas, and gardens, leads from the town to the rising village of Onéhunga, the landing-place or terminus of the western harbour. The town displays a line of wharfs and jetties, and two or three streets of shops and substantial warehouses, some of wood, but more of brick or stone; together with various modest public buildings, such as churches and chapels, Government house, barracks, gaol, banks, custom house, and local Westminster. The botanical gardens, Parnel and the little suburban bays, sparkling with the white villas of the wealthy merchants, offer many beautiful walks; whilst "One Tree Hill," and the high grounds behind the town present a combination of hill and harbour scenery scarcely to be surpassed.

Auckland is the head (official) quarters of the missionary bodies, head-quarters of the military, head-quarters of native trade and intercourse, and at present head-quarters of the Governor and his little court; and these manifestations of progress and civilisation, coupled with the commercial activity of the people, the constant arrival and departure of shipping, the daily coming and going of the native canoes bringing in produce and carrying back the returns, impart an air of animation, variety, and bustle to this little capital of the north which is seldom witnessed in the early days of young colonial towns.

The following letter from a Lady Colonist gives a good idea of the place—but it should be observed that since it was written Auckland has been much enlarged and improved, and is now a far more "town-like" settlement than it was when her ladyship landed there:—

"It was on an early summer's morning when our ship entered the harbour, and we saw the dawn of such a day as welcomes one only in the southern seas. Rounding a little cape, our home lay before us—we saw Auckland. Excellently situated between two seas and possessing a magnificent harbour, one could already descry in its scarcely-defined streets, in its half-erected buildings, ever in progress, the childhood of one of those princely commercial cities whose names reach to the end of the earth. Even as we entered, the harbour was alive with ships—American whalers, brigantines from California, merchantmen from Sydney and Hobart Town, schooners from the

south, several English vessels, and innumerable coasters—studded the unruffled waters, which, twenty years ago, were almost unknown to Europeans. Several shore-boats came out to meet us, gaily decorated with flags in their sterns. Going to one of the inns, we had breakfast of pork-chops, coffee, and other delicacies, for eighteenpence each. We then sallied forth, and hired a small house, containing three rooms, and at once moved in. Our first meal was a farce, at which, although we were the actors in it, we laughed heartily. Our tea-equipage consisted of an inverted tub with a towel over the bottom, for a table, a couple of basins and a 'hook-pot,' with plenty of new bread and fresh butter; the unimaginable deliciousness of which none but long sea-voyagers wot of. A rocking-chair fell to my lot, and a crazy box supported my spouse; yet I doubt if ever tea were more thoroughly enjoyed than ours was that night.

"In a few days, when we became a little more settled, my husband was out from morning to night, walking the country in search of land; for although he is an attorney, and has now good hopes of a moderate practice here, we thought it advisable, as we were not rich, to put ourselves out of the reach of want by undertaking the tillage of a little land. It was some time before he could find any that exactly suited us. At last he hit upon five acres, with a small house on it, two miles from town, for which we gave forty pounds.* It is partially inclosed, and consists of rich scoriæ soil. The house is built of the rough unhewn scoriæ stone, plastered and whitewashed within; the roof is thatched with raupo, a kind of reed, of which the natives form their huts. The flooring is sound and the roof not low. The interior area of the entire mansion measures exactly twenty feet by ten; but by means of a curtain, is divided into an eating and sleeping apartment: these, in their time, play many parts; dining-room, drawing-room, boudoir, kitchen, nursery, library, and study. I—brought up an idle English lady, accustomed to pass my time as I pleased, to divide it between books and amusements, but giving much more of it to pleasure than to study—am the household goddess of this paradise; here I wash

* A similar little property would not now be bought for less probably than 200*l*.

and cook, feed my goats and dress my baby, or when the little gentleman sleeps, endeavour to give you some faint idea of the toils and pleasures of an emigrant's life. But rude as our home is, we love and enjoy it more than I can describe, for it has the inexpressible charm of being—our OWN.

"Labour is anxiously demanded here. Carpenters get eight shillings a-day. We could not, for love or money, procure one to floor our house, so trifling a job being deemed quite unworthy his attention. Labourers get four shillings and sixpence a-day —some more; and one told me to-day that he was wanted in four places at once. Whoever, therefore, comes out above this class, must make up his mind to *work* (unless he bring capital with him) or he had better stay at home. I have been a hewer of wood and a drawer of water. But in New Zealand all this is done in hope—in the steadfast and sure hope—of every day improving our condition; of being able to rest in our old days; and of leaving to our children (be they ever so many) an ample provision.

But, because I dwell so much upon the labours we have to perform, you must not suppose that we are without amusements. We have races and regattas, and own an Epsom, if we cannot boast a Derby. At the races I was not present; but the regatta was a sight almost worth the voyage from England. I mean on account of the Maori race, which was the ninth of the day. Three large canoes—their bows fantastically carved and decorated with feathers, and manned by powerful native crews—started to contest for the prize. At the stern, and amid-ship (their dark tall figures naked to the waist), stood two chiefs, with frantic gestures and wild gesticulations, animating their men to victory. They almost flew over the course; and, as returning, they neared the flag-ship, it was a neck-and-neck contest between the two leading canoes. But Te Whero Whero one of the most powerful chiefs of the north, with unearthly yells, urged on his men. Fast flew his canoe beneath the powerful strokes of its crew, and darting forwards by a length, Te Whero Whero gained the honours of the day. Then the savages gave themselves up to all the excitement of victory. They shouted, they danced; and dashing, rocking, into the water, raised loud and long their cry of victory, and triumph.

"The climate is beautiful. I dress every morning with the door open (it is an outer door). Such are among the things we do with impunity. I am become robust and strong. *My hair, from being weak and thin, is now so thick that I can scarcely bear its weight.* Standing upon Mount Eden, as you look down upon the city and the sea, you can discern no smoke or impurity hanging over it, as over our English towns. The atmosphere is pure and balmy. Poverty hides not here in crowded and filthy dwellings. The children are chubby and clean; the women generally well-dressed and healthy. At a distance from the town, on the road to Mount Eden, lie the cemeteries, one for every religious denomination. A large cross marks the Roman Catholic burial-ground. Each grave is railed in, and flowers and shrubs are coming up around. Slaughter-houses are not suffered to pollute our air. No meat of any description is allowed to be killed within three miles of the town. My husband walks from our suburban residence into town every day. Auckland being built upon hills, has scarcely a level street. New houses are being constantly erected; new shops daily opened; everything advances. From Freeman's Bay, passing by the Roman Catholic chapel—a handsome stone edifice, with a large floriated cross—you descend West Queen Street into Queen Street, the business quarter of the young metropolis. Here commences the great *fuse*. Here are the principal merchants' stores; and here sit the Maories, under little tents of white calico, their goods spread out in kits on the ground around them. In this street also stands the prison; the resident magistrate's court (similar to the English County Court), held every day, and in which much business is done; and the Supreme Court of Judicature. The last criminal sittings in this, were held on the first of this month. There were six cases for trial: one, that of a Maori for the murder of a fellow-native; he was only convicted of manslaughter. Leaving this, and parallel to West Queen Street, you ascend Shortland Street, in which is the principal inn, called the Exchange Hotel; and several shops, which would not disgrace any European town. On a line with this is the crescent, at the top of which is the church, neatly built of white stone, in the Early English style of architecture. The arrangements of the inside are admirable; most of the seats are free.

Two lecterns supply the place of the pompous reading-desk and pulpit of our English churches: and two clergymen of capability assist the bishop.

"Below the church is Cooper's Bay, then Mechanics' Bay, and, last of all, Official Bay; where are the residences of the Judge and the Colonial Secretary. Beyond the church is the 'west end' of the town, and the road leading to Epsom. The officers live here; and the men under Government. Here are the barracks and the gardens of old Government-house; burned down some time since, and not yet restored. The present residence of his Excellency is a place of the most unpretending character, distinguished only by the soldiers on guard. It is situated at a little distance from the town, on the road to Mount Eden.*

"Two newspapers are published, each twice a week, the 'New Zealander' and the 'Southern Cross.' Sales at auction-marts take place every day in the week, Sundays excepted, at which every variety of goods are to be purchased at cheap rates; and auctioneers appear to do a thriving business here. There are daily schools for children, one for every sect. The Protestant, the Roman Catholic, and the Scotch churches, each have their own, and the Wesleyans possess a large college. At the Roman Catholic School, which is conducted by a Sister of Mercy, a number of Maori children attend very regularly.

"The country round Auckland is undulating: hill and dale, with small mountains interspersed. There are three different kinds of soil—scoriæ land, fern land, and 'tea-tree' land. The last is poor; the other two are good: but the scoriæ is by far the best; although it involves considerable labour and expense in clearing. The uncultivated country scenery bears an air of gloomy and solitary grandeur; but on a highway, which I traversed the other day, hedge-rows, as in England, extended for miles; singing-birds cheered us, and charming cottages, embowered in trees, stood on the hill brows, and dotted the edges of the plain. The greatest, in fact the only, drawback of the country round Auckland, is the almost total absence of trees, except such as are planted by the settlers; yet within eight

* A handsome new Government-house has since been erected near the old site.

miles of Auckland the vast forests begin. Firewood is, consequently, six shillings a ton in the place where I had fondly hoped to eat strawberries of my own planting under Kauri trees two hundred feet high. There is but one decent macadamized road in the whole district, the road to Epsom. This is a good, firm road, in the worst weather. The Eden, Tamaka, and Onéhunga roads scarcely deserve the name; in the winter the mud upon them is up to the axle-trees of carts.* At the village of Onéhunga is situated the Pensioners' Settlement; it is a flourishing and populous little place, on the opposite side of the island. An omnibus runs to and fro between it and Auckland every Sunday during the summer.

"The prices of provision here differ somewhat from those of the mother country. Bread, when we first landed, was fourpence-halfpenny the two-pound loaf; but tea, both black and green, can be procured, of excellent quality, for eighteenpence per pound. By taking a quarter-chest, you can get it at fifteenpence. Coffee, when there is a good supply in the market, is eightpence a pound; when scarce, it rises as high as eighteenpence. Butter, when we came, was a shilling; it is now fifteenpence. The prime cuts of beef and mutton are sixpence a pound: of pork, fourpence. You can buy, for sixpence, as much delicious fish as will serve an ordinary family for two days' dinner.† The kinds of fish most commonly brought about, are the snapper, the mullet, and a fish like our sole in look and taste, but rather smaller. Oysters are sixpence a kit. A kit is a native basket, made of the plaited flax of the country; one may contain from four hundred to five hundred oysters. Cockles, called here pipis, fetch about the same price. Potatoes are generally about three shillings the hundredweight. Peaches and melons are plentiful, and fine. Oranges and cocoa-nuts we get fresh from Tahiti. *One may live well here on a small income. The lowest rate of interest for money lent is ten per cent. Twelve and fifteen per cent. are commonly asked and given; so that a*

* A metalled road, equal to any English turnpike, has since been made to Onehunga, and many good roads have since been formed in other parts of the neighbourhood.

† The fair housekeeper's provision "price current" is correct enough even for the present time, though prices are now somewhat higher; but she is certainly no judge of fish. (See page 79.)

*person coming here with a thousand pounds might really live very comfortably on the interest of the money.*

"To the tenant farmers of England New Zealand offers a tempting home. No taxes, no tithes, no rent! There is good land for their seeds, and a good market for their produce. The farmer's wife may sell her cheese at one shilling a pound, her butter sometimes at two shillings a pound; while cattle and stock of every description are becoming cheap. The emigrants most welcome in New Zealand are small capitalists and labourers.

"Let me put in a good word for my colony to any one who thinks of emigration. If you are not doing well in the old country, and you feel it; if you can discern no sunshine in the darkness around you; above all, if you are industrious and enduring, then emigrate. And though it may be only because I myself have emigrated hither, and am happy, that I would recommend New Zealand to you; yet I think that its own natural advantages speak for the place. Its climate is one of the healthiest in the world; far above that of Australia. There is not a single venomous reptile. The colony is yet in its infancy, and therefore offers you, perhaps, the greater chance of making yourself rich with a small capital. At the same time, it bids fair eventually to equal any colony in commerce, as it already does in natural advantages. I would not willingly deceive any one. I conscientiously believe what I write, and I have written nothing which I have not either seen with my own eyes, heard with my own ears, or received from the most undoubted authority."

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The rural or home districts of Auckland may perhaps be defined as—first, the Isle of Wight (Waiheki) overlapping the harbour, and of the lands which fringe the north shore opposite the town, all now becoming dotted with small farms and clearings; second, Coromandel and the islands of Kawau and the Great Barrier; third, the belt of Pensioner Villages (Onehunga, Otahuhu, Howick, and Panmure); and, fourth, the districts of Waiuku and Papakura.

Coromandel lies nearly opposite the capital, about thirty miles distant across the Gulf. It possesses a fair harbour for small

vessels, and is the centre of a large and flourishing timber trade. Here, and on the opposite harbour of Mercury Bay, the kauri pine and other valuable trees are fine and abundant. The whole district, in fact, from Cape Colville to the Thames, forming an eastern peninsula forty miles long, by fifteen broad, is well wooded, but rugged and mountainous; though here and there it presents some valleys and fertile garden spots. Gold has been discovered in the neighbourhood of Coromandel, and though present researches have not succeeded in finding it in commercially paying quantities, a strong belief prevails among practical men on the spot, that the Coromandel ranges will eventually give forth both gold and other ores in considerable abundance.

The Kawau, a small island about twenty miles north of the capital, is chiefly remarkable as having been the site of some promising copper works, now temporarily abandoned, owing to the scarcity and dearness of the necessary mining labour. The Great Barrier, a large island, about fifty miles north-east of the Auckland harbour, to which it forms a good outer breakwater, has also produced some copper. It is well wooded, and possesses a fine harbour in Port Abercrombie, where a vessel of 500 tons has been built. The coasts abound with the hapuka, one of the best fish in New Zealand; and the few native and European residents possess some thriving little cultivations and a few fine cattle.

The Pensioner Villages were laid out by Government for a body of married pensioners (privates and officers), selected from among the most able-bodied volunteers in England; each private, on certain conditions of light military service, receiving the gift of a cottage and an acre of land. The experiment, in a civil or industrial point of view, has proved successful—many of the men having acquired landed property, and created clusters of little garden-farms which supply Auckland and the shipping with a considerable quantity of grain, cheese, butter, poultry, vegetables, and fruit. These Pensioner Villages, connected with each other by good roads, lie about five miles apart, in a sort of irregular segment of a circle round the town and the suburban belt. Onehunga, the nearest, before alluded to as the rising port town of the western harbour, is six miles from Auckland; Howick, the most distant, about twelve.

A few miles from Howick we reach Drury, in the Papakura district, at present the frontier inland Settlement of Auckland—the natives not yet having parted with any of the inland tracts more to the South. Here are some good farms; and the whole district is rapidly coming under cultivation. Waiuku lies a little to the south-west of Papakura, nearer the coast, between an arm of the Manukau harbour and the Awaroa stream, which latter runs into the Waikato. Here, a canal cut of about a mile, or a tramway across the portage, would connect the Waikato with the western harbour of Auckland. The Waiuku is not a very fertile district, but owing to its commanding position it has been rather a favourite place of settlement. It has always had ready access to Auckland by water, and a fair road through Papakura and the Pensioner Villages has now placed it in direct communication with the capital by land.

Except the "North shore," Coromandel, and the Islands, which are all woody, these rural districts of Auckland, including the nearer suburban lands and the Pensioner Villages, consist, for the most part, of open level country, interspersed here and there with small bush, but generally covered with fern, toetoe, ti-tree, manuku scrub, flax, and coarse grasses—lands for the most part reducible to cultivation at from 3*l*. to 5*l*. per acre; some of them very poor in quality, but others capable (in grass) of feeding five to six sheep, or (under the plough) of producing thirty to thirty-five bushels of wheat per acre.

The remaining three divisions of the Auckland Province, the "West-coast," the "Central," and the "East-coast" districts, require but brief mention; for, although they comprise by far the largest and even the finest portions of the Province, they are (as yet) almost entirely in the hands of the natives, and offer little trace of European settlement or population.

The West coast may be briefly described as an extensive district lying along the coast from Waiuku to Mokau, and bounded inland by the river Waipa—a tract of country some 100 miles long by 25 broad. It contains a fair proportion of agricultural land, and exhibits the two European Settlements of Whaingaroa and Kawhia. The former is a small Settlement, river-harbour, and missionary station, fifty miles south of the western harbour of Auckland, numbering some 200 settlers. The latter, forty

miles further south, is a semi-native settlement, the chief port and trading post of the powerful Waikato tribe, and an important Wesleyan mission station: it possesses a fair harbour for coasters, and is the depôt of a large native trade—shipping pork, potatoes, wheat, maize, and flax, to Auckland, and importing groceries and general merchandise for its native customers in return.

The "Central District" of the Auckland Province consists mainly of the great valleys of the Waikato and the Waipa, and may be said to extend almost from the Papakura district down to lake Taupo and the northern borders of the Wellington Province. It embraces a tract of country 100 miles long by some 40 broad; and in genial climate, rich soil, striking scenery, water-carriage, and agricultural and pastoral admixture of forest, fern, grass, and flax lands, it is probably entitled to rank as the "Garden of New Zealand." The beautiful lake Taupo (fifty miles in circumference), which so fitly forms the end of so fine a district, surrounded by lakelets, hot-springs, and chalybeate waters, may well become the site of some future New Zealand Cheltenham; whilst towering over Taupo, 7000 feet high, there is snow-capped Tongariro, forming a noble background to these "Hesperides" of the Waikato.

The fifth, or "East-coast," district of the Auckland Province winds along the coast from the Firth of the Thames to Poverty Bay, and embraces a tract of country, say 150 miles long by some 30 broad. This was the coast first visited by Cook, and the names of many of the bays and capes are those given by our illustrious circumnavigator. The extensive tract of country, forming the shores of the great Bay of Plenty, well deserves the character which the name implies; there being no part of New Zealand where the natives are more numerous or more industrious, and no part which produces such a quantity of wheat, maize, flax, pork, and other native produce (shipped coastwise) for the markets of Auckland.

These three great southern districts, constituting two-thirds of the Province of Auckland, form the stronghold of the remnants of the native race. The "West-coast," with the "Central" district, is the country of the Waikato, the most numerous and powerful of all remaining native tribes; and the "East-coast"

is dotted with the villages of what are commonly called the East-coast people. But the entire native population, even of these the most populous parts of New Zealand, does not exceed 30,000, whilst the country (under the plough) would probably be found capable of maintaining a population of two or three millions of colonists.

Though, however, Whaingaroa and Kawhia may be called the only European Settlements to be found in this great southern country, there are several native villages and missionary stations scattered over it, and generally connected with each other by native paths, forest-tracks, or canoe streams. Here, the traveller will occasionally meet with the germ of some European Settlement in the shape of little knots of white men, such as small frontier squatters, native traders, an old convict or two, retired whalers, runaway sailors, bush sawyers, and mechanics—rude pioneers of progress who renouncing the small tyrannies of civilisation have embraced the freer life of the natives, wedded the dark-eyed daughters of the land, and attached themselves to the native villages as influential relatives and art (or war) teaching members of the community.

## TARANAKI.*

Taranaki, the western Province of the North Island, and the seat of the present native disturbances, is about 100 miles in extreme length, by 60 in extreme breadth. Its chief natural characteristics are these:—1, small but compact area; 2, moderate native population, some 3500; 3, climate, slightly cooler than Auckland; 4, utter absence of harbours, lakes, or large rivers; but profusion of small streams and water power; 5, possession of Mount Egmont, the most beautiful of mountains; 6, large acreage proportion of the finest agricultural land.

There are not any outlying little Settlements in this Province. The inhabitants are, or rather were, concentrated in the village-capital, and in a belt of farms, hamlets, and clearings, lying around within a circle of eight or ten miles. Of the two and a half millions of acres which the Province contains, about one-third

* Formerly called New Plymouth. The chief town of the Province is now called New Plymouth, and the Province itself, Taranaki.

(the back or inland portion) consists of forest tracts of valuable timber, and the remainder (the open undulating country along the coast) consists mainly of agricultural and pastoral lands of the finest character, watered by a hundred Tamars, Darts, Doves, Deverons, and Dees.

The great, but the only, *natural* deficiency of this beautiful little Province is the absence of harbours—the shipping place of the town, even, being only an open roadstead. Large vessels anchor about two miles off, and goods are landed, and produce shipped, in large cargo-boats. It should, however, be remarked, that the absence of a harbour is the cause of delay and anxiety rather than of actual loss. Of the hundreds of small vessels which have loaded at New Plymouth during the last dozen years, there have been only three or four wrecked; and in fine weather, cargo is probably shipped and discharged as safely and expeditiously here as at any port in New Zealand.

New Plymouth, south lat. nearly 39°, about 150 miles from Auckland by sea, is the chief, and indeed the only, small town in the Province; and with the suburban hamlets of the Enui, Hua, Omata, and Tataramaka may number some 3000 people. The Settlement was founded by the Plymouth Company of New Zealand, an association of Cornish and Devonshire gentlemen (Courtenays, Molesworths, Bullers, Trelawneys, &c.), which afterwards merged into the great London Company, and was planted by Frederick Alonzo Carrington, and a body of pioneer colonists in 1841.

The village-capital, snugly planted on the margin of the beach, embosomed amid gentle hills, and watered by the Huatoki, Mangotuku, and tributary burns, displays its granite church and chapels, its rustic mills and breweries, snug hostelries, stores, and primitive shops; but, affecting no town airs, stands out before the world a robust, hearty-looking village, famed throughout the land for its troops of rosy children, pretty women, honey, fine mutton, and dairies of Devonshire cream. The appearance of the Settlement from sea, in fine weather, is both beautiful and varied: the taste for sylvan scenery and quiet rustic beauty is gratified by the combination of stream and forest, glade and valley, pastures and trim fields, dotted with cattle or yellow with corn; whilst, for the Salvator

Rosa eye, there is the snow-crested Apollo of mountains, Mount Egmont, shooting up, from a sea of forest, 8000 feet into the brilliant sky.

Such was the peaceful picture presented by New Plymouth but a few months ago. In March last, however, the serious "disturbances" described in Chapter XVIII. commenced. A considerable military and naval force has been despatched to the place; and two or three smart actions have been fought between the rebel natives and the troops, supported by a naval brigade, and a corps of rifle volunteers, in which the whites, being far outnumbered and badly led, have had rather the worst of it. The whole of the settlers have been compelled to abandon their cultivations, and to take up arms to defend the town—most of the women and children have been sent to Auckland and Nelson—numbers of the houses and homesteads scattered over the district have been sacked by the savage or burnt to the ground—and the beautiful little Settlement, long the garden of New Zealand, has been all but annihilated by storm of war.

## Wellington.

Wellington, the southern Province of the North Island, is about the fourth of the size of England and Wales. Its extreme length from north to south is nearly 800 miles; its greatest breadth from east to west about 80; the coast line embraces a sweep of some 300 miles. The colonist population is now about 13,000; the native about 8,000.

The chief natural characteristics of the Wellington Province are these:—1, greater liability to volcanic action; 2, possession of one first-class harbour (but only one), and of two considerable rivers; 3, commanding centrality of position on the great sea road of Cook's Strait.

This Province is best sketched in three divisions, viz.:—1, Wellington town and neighbourhood; 2, the Cook's Strait Settlements; 3, Wairarapa, and the pastoral districts.

Wellington (south lat. 41¼°), the capital of the Province, about 170 miles by sea from New Plymouth, was the first Settlement founded by the New Zealand Company, and was planted by the late Col. Wakefield and a body of pioneer colonists in

1840. Standing at the entrance of Cook's Strait, midway between the northern and southern extremities of the two islands, Wellington occupies one of the most central and commanding sites in New Zealand. In commercial activity, town-like character, social and industrial features, Wellington bears some resemblance to Auckland; and, comparing small things to great, has hitherto held some such status in relation to the northern capital as Liverpool may hold to London. The harbour is a beautiful sea-lake, six miles in length, surrounded by wooded hills, and opening by a deep channel into the marine highway of Cook's Strait. The town, containing a population of about 6000, occupies a fine position at the western corner of the lake. It displays a line of stores, shops, and substantial warehouses, standing on the margin of the water, and many snug villas, on the hilly terraces above; and should Wellington, rather than Nelson, be unwisely made the seat of the General Assembly, it will become the occasional residence of the Governor and his tiny court, and take rank as the political metropolis of the Colony.

Evidences of the volcanic action which still lingers in New Zealand are now perceptible chiefly in the town and neighbourhood of Wellington. In the last twenty years, two or three serious shocks have been experienced; but the inhabitants, who are the people chiefly concerned in the character of the ground they stand on, do not appear to regard their occasional "shakings" as any drawback to the rise and progress of their infant city. Situated on the edge of the funnel of Cook's Strait, the town, too, is swept by frequent gales of wind; and Bishop Selwyn says, with some humour, that "no one can speak of the healthfulness of New Zealand till he has been ventilated by the breezes of Wellington, where malaria is no more to be feared than on the top of "Chimborazo;" where active habits of industry and enterprise are evidently favoured by the elastic tone and perpetual motion of the atmosphere; and where no fog can ever linger long to deaden the intellectual faculties of the inhabitants.

Wellington possesses few or no farm districts lying contiguous to the town. Wooded steeps rise almost perpendicular from the shores of the lake, and the country for twenty miles around consists mainly of densely-timbered mountain ranges

cut up by gullies and ravines; presenting many a dell and dingle for garden, cottage, and villa, but offering little or no available land for the plough. The Hutt, a beautiful valley and thriving village about eight miles from the town along the shores of the lake (a little Sicily of fruits, flowers, butter, eggs, poultry, and garden produce, but unfortunately subject to destructive floods), is indeed the only agricultural district immediately in connection with the infant capital.

THE COOK'S STRAIT SETTLEMENTS.—Though, however, the rugged forest belt surrounding Wellington isolates her, geographically speaking, from the open country of the plough and the fleece, she now possesses ready access to some of the finest agricultural and pastoral lands in either island. A fair road of twelve miles, winding through the forest hills at the back of the town, and dotted with road-side cottage-clearings, leads to Porirua, a pretty lake and harbour for small craft in Cook's Strait. Here, lying along the shores of the Strait, commences a tract of fine coast country, some 100 miles in length by 20 in breadth; and here, virtually joining each other, and connected by a good coast road, we find the little Settlements of Manawatu Rangitikei, Turakina, and Wanganui.

Manawatu, about 70 miles from Wellington, is a considerable river, navigable for coasting craft. The colonists, to the number of some 200, are scattered along its banks; and possess a considerable extent of cleared land, and some fine flocks and herds.

Wanganui, some 50 miles further north, is, however, the most important member of this chain of coast Settlements. Its river, running nearly 200 miles through a bold and rugged country, but exhibiting various native villages and cultivations along its banks, affords canoe water-carriage for some amount of native produce, and admits vessels of 100 to 200 tons up to the town. The village-town, planted about two miles from the mouth of the river, is a military post, a leading mission station, and the head-quarters and chief depôt of a large and flourishing native trade. It numbers some 1000 inhabitants, carries on a direct trade with Sydney and Melbourne, owns a little steamer making about fortnightly trips to Wellington and Nelson, displays its

custom-house and stores, and boasts its newspaper, edited by a gentleman formerly on the staff of the London "Spectator."

WAIRARAPA.—A fair road past the valley of the Hutt, running inland from the head of the lake, places Wellington in communication with the Wairarapa plains, distant from the town about 40 miles. This is one of the finest pastoral districts in New Zealand, now exhibiting two or three little village-towns, and the homesteads and stock stations of numbers of thriving Squatters, rich in flocks and herds.

The interior of the Province, a country watered by the feeders of the Manawatu and Wanganui, traversed by the Rua Wahiné range, and running up to the confines of lake Taupo, is comparatively little known. The native population is, however, small and scattered, and the tract is said to exhibit various small plains and valleys well suited for cultivation.

## HAWKES' BAY.

Under the provisions of a late "Act of the General Assembly," an extensive and beautiful tract of country, some 100 miles in length by 60 in breadth, on the east coast of the North Island, has been raised into a distinct Province, under the name of Hawkes' Bay.

In size of area, compactness of form, happy mean of climate, and centrality of position between the two great Provinces of Auckland and Wellington, Hawkes' Bay bears a considerable general resemblance to Taranaki. The native population is about 3500, the European already about the same. The area of the Province is three millions of acres, about a third of which has been acquired by the Government. The capital is the infant town of Port Napier, containing at present about 500 people, and possessing a fair harbour for steamers and coasting vessels. A very large proportion of the country is composed of land of great natural fertility, well suited for agricultural and pastoral purposes; and looking at the combination of advantages possessed by Hawkes' Bay—at its fine soil and climate, its fair harbour and shipping advantages, its centrality of position between the two chief towns of New Zealand—it is, I think, by

no means improbable, if the native disturbances in the North Island are soon effectually quelled, that there will be no part of New Zealand which, during the next few years, will exhibit a larger annual increase in population and exports.

## NELSON.

Nelson, the northern Province of the South Island, is about the fourth of the size of England. Its extreme length from north to south is nearly 160 miles, its greatest breadth from east to west about 80, whilst the coast line embraces a sweep of about 300 miles. The colonist population of the Province may now approach 12,000. The native population scarcely exceeds 1000.

The chief characteristics of this Province are these:—small comparative proportion of cultivable land, very small native population, the existence of a worked gold-field, and indications of considerable mineral wealth in coal and copper.

Nelson (south latitude 41¼°), the capital of the Province, about 140 miles by sea from Wellington and New Plymouth, was the second Settlement founded by the New Zealand Company. Counting the suburbs, it may now contain about 6000 inhabitants, and was planted by the lamented late Captain Arthur Wakefield, and a body of pioneer colonists, in 1842.

Standing on the margin of a snug dock-like harbour, at the bottom of Blind Bay, and nestling from cold south blasts under a wall-like circle of precipitous hills, Nelson enjoys a climate of brilliant serenity well fitting her to become New Zealand's bay-side Brighton.

In picturing to himself these little New Zealand towns, however, the reader should bear in mind that they differ radically from anything in England. When we are told that Auckland and Wellington and Nelson are sea-ports containing a few thousand inhabitants, we might naturally suppose that they bore a certain resemblance to our second-class English sea-ports; and that they were of about the same local and relative importance as Poole or Falmouth, or Bideford or Berwick. But the supposition would be utterly erroneous: the social features of the places are utterly dissimilar. The people of Poole, for

instance, were born in Poole, have never been much out of Poole, speak "Poole English," have a small inheritance of "Poole ideas," and see no more of the reigning powers of the State and the governmental machinery of the country than may be compressed into the circumference of a "Poole Mayor." But the people of Auckland and Wellington and Nelson and Christchurch are people brought to one focus from all parts of the United Kingdom: Liverpool merchant and London clerk, doctor from Dublin, lawyer from Leeds, Cambridge M.A., tutor from Oxford, naval officer from Jersey, old cavalry man from Brussels, Indian invalid, Lincolnshire squire, shipwright from Portsmouth, brewer from Brighton, bishop from Eton, bricklayer from Bath, &c., &c., &c., constitute their multifarious populations. Each place, too, has its own little parliament and complete governmental machinery on the spot, and this description of population and mode of government, coupled with the greater romance and hardiness of young colonial life, impart a social variety, a vigour, boldness, and originality of character to these little antipodal communities, which we should find little trace of in the small town populations of the mother-country. The New Zealand provincial metropolis, too, is not more different from the English town in social aspects than it is in physical appearance. Gas, and granite pavement, omnibus and perambulator, are things to come; streets are wider, buildings more scattered, shops more in the general store style, suburbs more rural; "rus in urbe" is the dominant character, and the cornfield and the dairy farm almost border on the warehouse and the wharf.

Nelson, like Wellington, surrounded by a belt of hills and broken country, possesses but little available land in immediate connection with the town. The chief agricultural districts in the neighbourhood are the fine valley of the Waimea, a tract under high cultivation; and the Motueka, a pleasant district lying across the bay. Aorere, the gold-field, lying to the north of Motueka, has already been alluded to at page 100: here a little township called Collingwood is springing up, and if these infant "New Zealand Diggings" prove as rich as they promise, Collingwood will unquestionably become a considerable settlement.

A large portion of the western half of the Nelson Province appears to be a densely-timbered Alpine wilderness—a Black Forest region, unfitted for the most part for plough or fleece. Indeed, though running less into the heart of the country in its course through the Provinces of Canterbury and Otago, this rugged region (including in its Alpine ranges the highest peak in New Zealand, Mount Cook, 13,200 feet) extends along the western coast of the South Island, 500 miles from Cape Farewell to Dusky Bay. It is a savage gloomy country, silent, desolate, and dreary. Here and there, in some secluded nook, a few miserable natives (lone remnants of early fugitives from the massacres of the eastern side), true 'children of the mist' and 'wild men of the woods,' have raised their little huts and snare the kiwi and the weka unmolested and unseen. But this vast tract is unpeopled; millions of acres have never been trodden by human foot since their first upheavement from the sea; it is a country fresh from nature's rudest mint, untouched by hand of man—a region where, if anywhere, Audubon would have met the moa on the mountain top, and Owen stumbled over the ichthyosaurus basking on the banks of the lagoon.

It is, however, to be observed that this part of New Zealand has as yet been but very partially explored, and it is not improbable that the expedition now led into the wilderness by Mr. Haast may reveal more available land here than there was reason to expect. The Buller and the Grey rivers are said to water certain tracts of fine country to the south of the Nelson Province, whilst we may remember that if the *Aorere* sample of this rude region be a fair sample of the bulk, this rugged west coast may prove to be New Zealand's "Gold coast."

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### MARLBOROUGH.

This part of New Zealand, formerly a portion of Nelson, has lately been erected into a separate Province under the above name. Its extreme length is about 140 miles, its extreme breadth about 60, and its capital is Picton, standing on a fine deep-sea harbour formed by an arm of Queen Charlotte's Sound. Being yet in its first infancy, Marlborough does not at present number more than about a thousand people; but it is, I think,

likely to become a favourite locality with emigrants. The south-eastern portion of this Province consists mainly of the Wairau Plains, one of the finest and first occupied sheep districts in New Zealand. Here, we find "Flaxbourne," the stock station of Mr. Weld, the accomplished author of an excellent pamphlet on New Zealand Sheep Farming; and, here, are found the Runs of many of our Shepherd Princes well stocked with brood-mare, shorthorn, and merino.

The northern end of the Province, washed by Cook's Strait, is a rugged densely-wooded country, indented with coves, bays, creeks, havens, and harbours of every size, shape, and capacity. Queen Charlotte's Sound, in the centre of the group, 25 miles long, with one entrance three, and the other six miles broad, is a gigantic ocean dock, capable of berthing the whole British navy; and Pelorus Sound, a little to the north, is a like group of natural docks, embracing 250 miles of shore and beach. But the wooded hills rise so abruptly from the margins of these 101 harbours, that many of them scarce offer a thousand ploughable acres; and until New Zealand is equipping an armament for the conquest of China, or the repression of France in the Pacific, some of these ocean docks may prove ornamental rather than useful to her good Province of Marlborough. At the same time it should be observed that the land around many of them, broken as it is, is land capable of producing corn and fruits in luxuriant abundance; and looking at the fine position of these "hundred havens" on Cook's Strait, at their centrality of position between the two provincial capitals of Wellington and Nelson, at the abundance of fish and timber which they afford, at the fine climate and magnificent bay and forest scenery which they possess, there can be no doubt that, as population spreads, some of them will become the seats of flourishing little communities of fishers, sawyers, shipwrights, small farmers, health-recruiting visitors, and maintaining a ready communication with each other, and with the markets of Nelson and Wellington, by small steamers and coasters, fishing-yawls and cutter-yachts; whilst, dominating the noble waters of Queen Charlotte's Sound, there may some day be found a great metropolis of the Pacific in which New Zealand may find her London, her Portsmouth, and her Pembroke combined.

### CANTERBURY

The centre Province of the South Island is about one-third the size of England and Wales. Its length from north-east to south-west is about 250 miles; its greatest breadth from east to west on the meridian of 44° about 180 miles; the coast line embraces a sweep of 400 miles. The colonist population must now be near 13,000; the native does not exceed 600.

The chief natural characteristics of this Province are these:—Small, all but non-existent, native population; a rather cooler climate, possession of that curious harbour-stored projection, Banks' Peninsula; and possession of the great pastoral plains of New Zealand, and of large tracts of open agricultural country well fitted for the plough.

Canterbury was founded by a brilliant association of peers, bishops, and commoners, patriotically interested in improving the character of British colonisation; and Lyttelton, its port-town (south lat. 43½°, about 200 miles by sea, both from Wellington and Otago), together with Christchurch, its young city of the plains, may be said to have been planted by John Robert Godley, James Edward Fitzgerald, and a body of pioneer colonists, in 1850.

Port Victoria (old Port Cooper), the harbour of Lyttelton, though inferior in some respects to the Cook's Strait, and northern harbours, is a fine land-locked ocean-inlet, and its duplicate planted at Deal would be a cheap bargain to British commerce at the price of ten millions sterling.

Lyttelton, counting some 2000 inhabitants, is a neat infant town, presenting an air of regularity and finish seldom seen in the young Settlements of a New Land. It is surrounded by a belt of rough, precipitous hills, climbing which, we see beneath us the famous Canterbury plains—three millions of acres rolling back in gentle rise forty miles to the foot of the central highlands, watered by twenty rivers, and spreading north and south further than the eye can reach.

A deep fringe of fine cattle grazing, and loamy agricultural land extends along the seaboard of this noble plain. But the great inland portion of it is a true pastoral country; composed,

for the most part, of tracts of light loam on a porous subsoil, intermixed with pebbly tracts, all covered with perpetual herbage of various grasses, and well suited for the breeding and depasturing of sheep, horses, and cattle. It is bare of timber, and is intersected by many rapid streams, difficult to ford when swollen; but shelter for young stock, for gardens and clearings, is easily obtained by planting; fire-wood, building timber and fencing stuff, are close at hand in the forests of Banks' Peninsula; stock stations, shepherds' huts, squatters' homesteads, with their paddocks and patches of garden and corn-field, are dotted over it in every direction; flocks and herds are spreading from point to point; and it deservedly ranks as the finest pastoral district in either island, and as the true domain of the "golden fleece."

The two marked features of this great Plain, are the absence of wood, and the profusion of water. The three million acres scarce boast a tree. But jealousy has talked a considerable amount of nonsense as to the "treeless plains of Canterbury" —Auckland and Wellington and Canada and Nova Scotia have perhaps heard of such a thing as *too much wood*. There is timber enough on or near Banks' Peninsula, and at the foot of the highlands, to supply the Plains with fences, fuel, and building stuff, for five centuries to come. I grant that in certain, bleakest, spots during a "southerly burster," the position of the newly-imported merino is occasionally embarrassing: if he does *not* get up to feed he starves; and if he *does*, the blast may shear him clean. But quick-hedges, Osage-orange hedges, hedges of furze, mixed fancy-hedges of broom, bramble, geranium, and dog-rose, thick break-winds of Phormium tenax; together with belts, clumps, and hedge-rows of blue gum, karaka, ngio, acacia, ash, elm, and other Australian New Zealand and English trees, are easily reared in Canterbury; and colonists like hers, in five years more, may make their naked plains woody and sheltered enough for fox and pheasant; and as pleasing to the eye as they are profitable to the pocket. Profusion of rivers, not absence of forests, seems to me the true and the only natural defect of the great Canterbury Plains. In her two hundred miles of east-coast some forty streams discharge themselves into the sea, and the vicious character of these torrents,

the contempt of utility they display, is positively exasperating The river gods who rule their floods must take a heathen pleasure in thwarting Christian colonisation: on the coast, scarce one of them forms a cove fit for a bumboat—inland, each at times, would hurl an elephant off his legs and roll the carcase to the sea. And when Canterbury becomes more peopled, when free path is more necessary, her provincial chest will unquestionably have to disburse most freely for ford and ferry service, and for repair and renewal of bridge and boat.

Christchurch, the rural capital of the plains, about eight miles from Lyttelton, over the harbour hills, containing some 2000 people, is, as yet, only a considerable village pleasantly situated on the river Avon. The country around is dotted with corn-fields, pastures, orchards, and dairy-farms; and the luxuriance of crop, the sleek full-fed look of all domestic animals which these cultivations exhibit, prove that the ragged-looking tracts of similar soil which surround them need but the magic touch of plough and spade to be clothed with a like mantle of blooming fertility.

The physical "difficulty," if I may so express it, of the Canterbury Province, has been the connecting of the port-town of Lyttelton with the great interior Plains—this difficulty, however, is being lessened by the introduction of small steamers to ply from Lyttelton harbour up the river Avon to within a couple of miles of Christchurch, and will eventually be overcome by the formation of a short railroad, partly winding round and partly piercing the hills.

The principal small Settlements of the Canterbury Province are Kaipoi, a rising village port, ten miles from Christchurch on the banks of the Courtenay; Timaru, a fine pastoral district on the south coast; and Akaroa, Port Levy, and Pigeon Bay, in Banks' Peninsula. Akaroa is one of the finest harbours in New Zealand; and these little peninsulated Settlements, all possessing excellent ports, and all lying within three or four hours' run of the provincial metropolis, will probably become the seat of a large industrial population—supplying fish, fruits, vegetables, and firewood for the shipping and town of Lyttelton, and fence-stuff and building-timber for the shepherds of the plains.

## OTAGO.

Otago is the extreme southern Province of the South Island, and, climatically speaking, occupies the same relative position to the Provinces of New Zealand as Scotland occupies to England. Its extreme length from north-east to south-west is 200 miles; its greatest breadth (on the meridian of 46°) nearly the same; whilst the coast line embraces a sweep of 500 miles. The colonist population is about 11,000; the natives do not number more than 500.

The chief natural characteristics of the Province are these—Great area and coast line; colder (but not cold) climate; small, all but non-existent, native population; and possession of large districts both of fine pastoral and agricultural land.

The fact of Otago being loosely spoken of as the *Scotland* of New Zealand sometimes leads to rather an injurious misconception as to its climate. The New Zealand thermometrical tables are at present somewhat partial and imperfect; but, so far as they go, they show that in mean annual temperature the climate of Otago is only four or five degrees colder than that of Nelson, whilst in regard to *rain*, Dunedin would appear to be some 15 per cent. drier than the North Island. The tree fern, the tree fuchsia, and other tender plants flourish through the winter in the woodlands of Otago just as they do in the forests of the North; and the Kakariki, a delicate little parroquet, is just as common a bird, winter and summer, around the wooded shores of Foveaux Strait, as it is about the coasts of Cook's Strait, or the waters of the Waitémata.

Dunedin, (S. lat. 45¾°), about 200 miles by sea from Port Lyttelton, is the village-capital of the Province, and, counting its little suburban districts, may now contain some 3000 people. It was founded by an association of members of the Free Kirk of Scotland; and the Settlement was planted by Captain Cargill and a body of Scotch emigrants in 1848. Dunedin stands at the head of a fine loch, thirteen miles in length, which may be said to form two harbours; the deep or seaward half running up to Port Chalmers, beyond which large ships do not come; and the shallow, inland half, extending to Dunedin, and acces-

sible only for small craft and light-draught steamers. The agricultural operations of the settlers are at present chiefly confined to the valleys of the Taieri and Tokomoriro, a few miles south of the town; and to the banks of the Clutha, a semi-navigable river, some fifty miles distant. But perhaps half the Otago Province consists of interspersed pastoral and agricultural districts of considerable fertility; and as Otago becomes more cosmopolitan and attractive of population, there will, I fancy, be no Province likely to figure in the markets with greater exports of corn and wool.

A flourishing young Settlement, Invercargill (prettily named after the veteran founder of Otago, Captain Cargill), is springing up on a branch of the New River in Foveaux Straits, about 140 miles south of Dunedin, and one or two sister villages are arising on the banks of Jacob's River, and on the shores of the fine harbour of the Bluff. These little Strait Settlements will probably, ere long, shake off their local allegiance to Otago, and, like Hawkes' Bay and Marlborough, seek to be erected into a separate Province. In natural advantages, it is questionable whether there be any finer site than Invercargill for a large settlement in the whole of New Zealand. The position of the place is almost central, between two harbours, the Bluff and New River—a fine stream, navigable for twenty miles. These harbours are practically nearer to the Australian ports, and a week's sail nearer England than any harbours in New Zealand. There is no large native population in the country to impede colonisation, but there is a scattered population of old squatters civilised natives and intelligent half-castes, which may materially strengthen the first efforts of colonisation; whilst as to land, there is probably no part of New Zealand where so great an extent of pastoral and agricultural country could be found lying in open communication with a seaport and shipping harbour.

Some idea of the character of the little communities scattered about the neighbourhood of Invercargill, and of the description of the country which it commands, may be gleaned from the following short extracts from "Notes of a Journey from Otago to New River:" presented to me by my friend Mr. Nayler, an old "compagnon de voyage."

"This morning we started for Jacob's River, and after a walk of twenty-two miles over a splendid beach, we came to the

native settlement. Men, women, and children, poured out to meet us; some ran forward to apprize the whalers of our arrival —five strangers at once was an event unheard of. Jacob's River has long been celebrated as a whaling station; but now little is done in that line. The singular social position of this place is one of those which travellers meet with but once in their lives. There had been some sickness amongst them; and a surgeon was their greatest desire. Next to a doctor, a clergyman was spoken of as the most desirable importation: not exactly for the benefit of his ministry; they would be content to bury their own dead, but they did wish to be married by the Church. The surplus of female children born over males was most remarkable; about one boy to ten girls.* The river, with its well-wooded banks, is very picturesque; and the clearings, dotted around, formed a pleasing landscape.

"New River.—Hauled the boat up high and dry, and having packed our blankets and provisions, we turned our faces inland. The appearance of the country delighted me. Here were thousands of acres of beautiful undulating land, with natural grasses, studded with large masses of bush, containing excellent timber —reminding one of a gentleman's park on a magnificent scale. Small streams of excellent water are interspersed throughout the country. To the westward appeared a range of wooded hills, and beyond them the snowy Southern Alps. A stock-farmer could not desire a better country, a sheep-farmer would perhaps like something higher, but the general agriculturist would be admirably suited. I had no implement to turn up the soil, but from the appearance of the vegetation, I judged it excellent; and in New Zealand it is rare to find a bad soil. I was grieved to turn my back on this splendid district; but night was closing on us, and we returned to see what cheer our trusty guide had provided for the bivouac."

About a hundred miles westward of Invercargill we find Dusky Bay, a remarkable group of harbours forming the extreme south-western ocean docks of New Zealand—abounding in fine timber and shoals of fish, but apparently offering no available land for the plough or the fleece.

* Is not *this* a remarkable physiological fact? Jacob's River, it is to be recollected, is a *mixed* community, consisting of whalers and Natives, and of the progeny of these, the half-castes.

Stewart's Island, opposite Invercargill, across the Strait, though not officially included in the Province, may at present be regarded as an island county of Otago. Some little mixed communities of tens and twenties,—old whalers, natives, half-castes, &c.—are scattered about the bays of the island. It is well wooded, and possesses some fertile little valleys, together with several excellent harbours; Paterson's Inlet and Port Pegasus being two of the finest in New Zealand.

Some New Aberdeen planted here, would embrace many advantages as a whaling port; and lying close on the track of the Australian homeward fleets, would be the only civilised spot a ship would approach in traversing the desolate waste of waters between Australia and Cape Horn.

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COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE PROVINCES.—Half-a-dozen small steamers ply along the coasts, and keep up an irregular communication between various of the Provinces. Negotiations, however, are now, I believe, pending between the General Government, the Provincial Councils, and one or two private houses, for effecting great improvement in inter-provincial steam communication; and it is not improbable that before the expiration of the present year, a regular weekly steam service will be organized between each of the six or seven chief settlements of the colony. The regular vessels of the London Lines, too, and other English ships, together with numerous Australian traders, commonly visit two chief Settlements, and carry on passengers from one to the other; whilst a fleet of small craft is continually plying round the coasts, from Province to Province, and from trading post to station. Thus, save at New Plymouth, where the sea-journeying facilities are fewer, the New Zealand visitor, emigrant-traveller (seeing a little of the country before he chooses his location and invests his money), or tourist, has seldom to wait more than a day or two in any one Settlement without finding some means of prosecuting his journey to another.

ROADS.—As yet, New Zealand's artificial, *made* roads are confined, for the most part, to circles of country surrounding the chief Settlements. A great central trunk road has, however, been commenced at Auckland. It will be carried northward 150 miles to the Bay of Islands, and southwards (eventually)

some 400 miles to Wellington, and when entirely finished, will exhibit branch roads to each chief Settlement lying along the coast on either side. About forty-five miles of the northern, and forty of the southern portion of this main highway have been partially opened; and as the Auckland Government alone votes some 8000*l.* a-year for the prosecution of this great work, a few years' time may see it finally completed. Some considerable local roads have also been made in the Provinces of Wellington and Canterbury; whilst by beach, or by inland paths, plains, and passes, New Zealand is traversable, in a rough way, from north to south. From Auckland to New Plymouth, *vid* Kawhia, there is a seven-days' foot post-road, by the native villages and stations along the beach and cliffs; and from New Plymouth to Wellington through Wanganui, a somewhat similar eight days' road is found—practicable both for horse and foot. There is also a foot post-road by native paths and villages from Auckland to the Ahuriri, passing partly through the beautiful Waikato country named at page 140.

Visitors and colonists, "bush travelling" in New Zealand, generally provide themselves with a native attendant, as guide, caterer, ferryman, and companion; carry a couple of blankets, some tobacco and a little tea; trust to native villages for pork, poultry and potatoes; and bivouac at night before a rousing forest fire of a dozen trees. Twenty miles a day is fair progress; and with a comrade, a smattering of the native tongue, and a couple of native guides, New Zealand "bush travelling," in variety of adventure, in scenery, in ludicrous mishaps, and robust enjoyment, alternated though by fits of intense disgust, beats a Highland walking tour by a hundred per cent.

Land travelling in the South Island is generally performed on horseback. A visitor or exploring emigrant would now, I think, ride from Blenheim to Christchurch in about six days, and from Christchurch to Dunedin in about ten, stopping at some sheep or cattle station almost every night. Stock, even now, is frequently driven from Province to Province; and in a few years "bush hostelries" (the nuclei of little villages) will spring up by ferry pass and plain along the entire line of ride, some 700 miles, from Nelson to Marlborough and from Marlborough to Invercargill and the Settlements around the Bluff.

## CHAPTER X.

GOVERNMENT.—REVENUE.—PATRONAGE.—CIVIL, RELIGIOUS, AND EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

GOVERNMENT.—The Bill creating the New Zealand Constitution was carried through the British Parliament by Sir John Pakington, the Colonial Minister of Lord Derby's Administration, in 1853. It confers representative institutions and ample powers of self-government on the 80,000 colonists of New Zealand; and never before, probably, were the destinies of so fine and so large a country intrusted to the guidance of so small a body of people.

The Act consists of 82 sections; and the following is a summary of its leading provisions:—

I.

The Crown appoints the Governor of the colony and its three Judges, and deducts from the colony's public revenue some 20,000*l.* a-year for a Civil List; providing about 3500*l.* for the Governor and his establishment; 4000*l.* for the judges; 5000*l.* for the general government, and 7000*l.* for native purposes. And the Crown (as yet) has provided all military and naval forces, consisting, in common times, of two regiments, and a sloop or two of war.

II.

The general government of the colony is vested in a tripartite body, styled the General Assembly—composed of the governor, a legislative council, and a house of representatives, which, hitherto, has met in annual session at Auckland; and which makes all laws for the colony, save the laws made by the provincial councils.

III.

The legislative council (the house of peers), consisting at present of some twenty members, is chosen and created by the governor for life; the house of representatives (the house of commons), consisting at present of some forty members, and which will be increased from year to year as the increase of population and the creation of new provinces or counties makes it necessary, is elected by the colonists every five years; but may be dissolved sooner by the governor, and is annually summoned and prorogued by the governor at pleasure.

IV.

Every adult Colonist, or *Native*, owner of a freehold worth 50*l.*, or leaseholder of an estate at 10*l.* per year; or town tenant householder at 10*l.* a year; or country tenant householder at 5*l.* a year, if duly registered, is qualified both to vote for and to *be*, a member of the house of representatives.

V.

Bills for the making of laws may originate with either house or be recommended by the governor. After a bill has passed both houses by a majority, it is laid before the governor for his assent. If he refuse his assent, the bill is lost; if he give his assent, the bill becomes law. But it is sent home, and *may* be disallowed by the Queen any time within two years from the date of its receipt in England; and if it *be* thus disallowed, all acts done under it in the colony, after such "disallowance" is made officially known in the colony, are illegal, null, and void.

VI.

The colony, as before observed, is at present divided into eight provinces—Auckland, Hawkes' Bay, Taranaki, Wellington, Nelson, Marlborough, Canterbury, and Otago. Each province is locally governed by a "Provincial Council," a sort of Vestry-Parliament, composed of an officer called a Superintendent, and of certain provincial councillors* both elected by

* This election of the Superintendent of the Council, or Chairman of the Board, by the public at large, instead of by the members of the Board, has

the Settlers—the qualification for voter, member, and superintendent, being the same as for the House of Representatives.

VII.

Superintendent and provincial council (not consisting of fewer members than nine, but enlargeable at the governor's pleasure) to be elected every four years by the electors of the province; but the governor may disallow the superintendent's election within three months; or remove him at any time on an address from a majority of the council; and may dissolve the council at pleasure.

VIII.

Superintendent may summon and prorogue his provincial council at pleasure; but there must be a session at least once a year. Superintendent and provincial council may make laws for their respective provinces—save and except laws or ordinances for

A. The imposition or regulation of duties of customs to be imposed on the importation or exportation of any goods at any port or place in the province.

B. The establishment or abolition of any court of judicature of civil or criminal jurisdiction, except courts for trying and punishing such offences as by the law of New Zealand are or may be made punishable in a summary way, or altering the constitution, jurisdiction or practice of any such court, except as aforesaid.

C. Regulating any of the current coin, or the issue of any bills, notes or other paper currency.

D. Regulating the weights and measures to be used in the province or in any part thereof.

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sadly aggravated the difficulties of our provincial council legislation. On taking office the unfortunate superintendent is ever liable to find himself, personally, or his measures, politically, obnoxious to a majority of his councillors; and hence arises that "resignation," that "dead lock," that "ministerial crisis" which our little-vestry parliaments are so frequently exhibiting. To moderate this evil, the General Assembly, in creating the new provinces of Hawkes' Bay and Marlborough, ordained, I think, that the general voters should first elect the "Provincial Councillors," and that these should then nominate their chairman or superintendent.

E. Regulating the post-offices and the carriage of letters within the province.

F. Establishing, altering, or repealing laws relating to Bankruptcy or insolvency.

G. The erection and maintenance of beacons and light-houses on the coast.

H. The imposition of any dues or other charges on shipping at any port or harbour in the province.

I. Regulating marriages.

J. *Affecting lands of the crown, or lands to which the title of the oboriginal native owners has never been extinguished.*

K. Inflicting any disabilities or restrictions on persons of the native race to which persons of European birth or descent would not also be subjected.

L. Altering in any way the criminal law of New Zealand, except so far as relates to the trial and punishment of such offences as are now or may by the criminal law of New Zealand be punishable in a summary way as aforesaid:

M. Regulating the course of inheritance of real or personal property, or affecting the law relating to wills.

## IX.

Any provincial bill passed by a majority of the provincial council, and assented to by the superintendent, is submitted by the superintendent to the governor for his approval. The Governor may refuse to give his approval or assent any time within three months; but if he once give his assent, the bill becomes provincial law, though it can at any time be repealed by the General Assembly.

## X.

The General Assembly may create new provinces, increase the number of members of the House of Representatives and of the provincial councils, alter the electoral qualification, and alter and increase the powers of the provincial councils; which latter it once unfortunately did, to an almost revolutionary

extent, in empowering the provincial councils to make laws for the sale and disposal of the wild lands of the colony—thus setting aside the wise restrictive clause, J.

XI.

*The Queen may proclaim certain districts to be exceptional districts where the natives shall be held as not subject to British law.*

XII.

No private individual to purchase or lease any of the wild lands of the colony from the natives. The right and power of buying wild land from the natives to belong solely to the Queen, and only to be delegated to the governor of the colony or superintendent of a province.

XIII.

Though such essence of good government is not provided for by the letter of the constitution, the Governor is advised and guided by a responsible ministry, consisting mainly of a colonial treasurer, a colonial secretary, and an attorney-general, all members of the General Assembly, and commanding a majority in the lower house. And the superintendents of provinces are also advised by little local executives, consisting of such officers as provincial secretaries, treasurers, and attorneys.

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REMARKS ON THE CONSTITUTION.

The reader will perceive by this elementary abstract that, setting aside the provincial councils, which we may term little "vestry-parliaments," the constitution of New Zealand bears some infantile resemblance to that of the Mother Country. The Governor is the Queen—but the Queen taking a more active personal part in public affairs; the Legislative Councillors are the created (life) Peers, and the House of Representatives is the House of Commons; whilst in each constitution we find the ministry of the country leaning on the people's representatives for support.

Taking the Constitution as a whole; looking at principle, at detail, at the self-amending elements which enrich it; casting

a retrospective glance, too, at the form of government which it has supplanted, it must certainly be regarded as a good and liberal measure, creditable to Sir John Pakington and imperial legislation, and illustrative of those harmonious political relations which should ever subsist between the emigrant Colonies and the Mother Country.

Like all great, tentative, political measures, however, put into practice, the "New Zealand Constitution" has been found to possess certain defects which somewhat militate against its successful action; and the experience of seven years might, I think, show both Colonists and Colonial Office that our Constitution Act is one which we might now considerably improve. The small space I can devote to this chapter, and the uninteresting subject of it, warn me that in my remarks on our political condition I must be brief. But as the topic, uninviting though it be to the practical emigrant, the man of the axe and the plough, may yet possess some little interest for others, I will lightly touch on it, and ask my readers to glance a moment at the merits and defects of New Zealand's Magna Charta before I request their attention to the graver subjects of the merits and defects of New Zealand's shorthorns and merinoes.

The Franchise.—Where the labourer and the mechanic are so well paid, where land is so easily acquired, and where house rent is so high as in New Zealand, our franchise is virtually equivalent to universal suffrage; and recollecting that every labourer or mechanic is not only qualified to vote for, but to *be* a member of parliament, I cannot but think that our franchise is too low, or that the *property-qualification* necessary to enable a man to take his seat in our infant House of Commons should have been made very considerably higher. Hitherto, the members sent to the House of Representatives have been an excellent sample of the intelligence, wealth, and respectability of the colony—but, assuredly, under our constitution, it would be a thing quite *possible* that twenty men, a majority of the House of Representatives, ex-labourers and tailors, storekeepers and traders—each possessing a bit of land worth 50*l*., and half of them scarce able to read, should make laws for a country as large as Great Britain and Ireland!

VETO.—By the more radical members of the community it has been urged as an objection to the constitution that this "veto" enables the Home Government to repeal any Colonial Act within a period of two years from the date of its enactment. This, however, I regard as a great *merit* of the constitution. New Zealand is not the property of the handful of pioneer Settlers who happen to have been the first to land on her shores. New Zealand is the property of the British nation, the future noble emigration field for thousands of the pent-up people of the British Isles, a great mart of British commerce. Where, in New Zealand, there are *hundreds* of British subjects who would be benefited by New Zealand being built up by good government into a flourishing colony, there are, in the Mother Country, *hundreds of thousands* of British subjects who would be benefited by the attainment of the same result. The political representative, the steward of these hundreds of thousands in the Mother Country, is the Home Government; and the Home Government, in retaining the power of "veto" over the acts of the Colonial Legislature has only retained, on the part of its constituents, the power of preventing our handful of pioneer colonists from unwittingly doing anything which might impair the value of what, at least, is a *joint* estate.

THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL.—The existence, or the non-elective character, of this Upper House has also been objected to by a few as a blemish in the constitution. But looking at the possibility of the House of Representatives, owing to the lowness of the franchise and the qualification, becoming, by degrees, somewhat too democratic a body, and recollecting that this House of (life) Peers may well act as a check on crude or democratic legislation, I think, on the whole, that it may prove a very useful regulator in the machinery of our Government; and with respect to it I would indorse the following opinion of the Hon. William Swainson:—

"The value of a Double Chamber has never been called in question by the New Zealand colonists; but, in the first instance, the importance of the Legislative Council or Upper House was, perhaps, somewhat under-rated. Being few in

number, and having no constituents, the members are under no temptation to indulge in declamatory speeches for the purpose of making political capital, and the oratory of the Colonial Parliament was confined to the popular branch of the Legislature, which for a time absorbed the public attention: but when the real business of legislation was to be done; when it was seen that the proper business of the Assembly, as a law-making tribunal, excited little real interest with the members of the House of Representatives; that it was rapidly hurried over; that the Bills, as they were passed by that body, were frequently in an unfit state for actual operation; and that for their practical efficiency they were indebted to the painstaking care and business-like proceedings of the Upper House;—the value of the Legislative Council, even before the close of the first session of the Assembly, began to be more justly appreciated. But, in the first instance, the impression of the Colonists was unfavourable to the nature of its Constitution: the Legislative Council is, in fact, the only permanent element of the Assembly; the Governor for the time being holding his office but for a limited, and at all times but for a brief, period, and by an uncertain and precarious tenure. The Ministers, under the system of responsible government, hold their offices by a still more uncertain tenure; while the members of the House of Representatives, when they become obnoxious to the public, may, on a dissolution, be replaced by other men: but the Legislative Council is a permanent body, composed of members who hold their offices for life, and over whom the public have no immediate control. Hitherto their proceedings have been conducted with prudence and discretion, and have been undisturbed by party feelings. The alterations made by them in the measures sent from the House of Representatives have generally been adopted by the popular branch of the Legislature, as valuable amendments; and so long as they shall devote themselves, uninfluenced by party-feeling, to the consideration of the measures which may be brought before them, with the single object of their improvement, it will probably be some time before the Colonists will seek to promote any important changes in the constitution of the Upper-Chamber."

Creation of the Six Provincial Councils.—This was the

great blunder of the Constitution. Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago, were six little Settlements with parish-like populations of from three to six thousand people. These parish-populations were little village communities of well-to-do pioneer colonists, requiring so little rule and guidance that a mayor, half a dozen councillors, a town-crier, and a couple of policemen, would amply have sufficed to administer the local affairs of each of them. Stripped of verbiage and figures of speech, two and two make four in New Zealand precisely as they do in England; and, political quacks and constitution-mongers, alone, excepted, we must all see that as simple municipalities are sufficient to administer the local affairs of communities of a hundred thousand Englishmen in England, simple municipalities would have been sufficient to have administered the local affairs of little communities of from three to six thousand Englishmen in New Zealand. But, here, the bounteous framers of the Constitution appearing to forget that the half was often greater than the whole, and to think that as New Zealand was to have a Constitution at all, she could not have too big and ambitious a one, actually gave each of these parishes a Lieutenant-Governor, an Executive Ministry, a Local Parliament, an Attorney-General, and a Secretary of State—and if "silver-stick," and "gold-stick," and "groom of the posset," had been added, the parochial foolery would have been complete. Called into existence by the Constitution, and bedizened with these silly signs and symbols of authority, our Vestry Parliaments at once rose with the occasion: one of them provided itself with a Serjeant-at-Arms; whilst the chief of another, the Superintendent, would fain have had the title of "His Excellency," instead of the humbler one of "His Honour." Each mimic House of Commons ordered that the English Prayer for the High Court of Parliament (slightly altered) should be read for it in church during the session; each petty session was opened and prorogued with a sort of regal speech rivalling in length a President's Message; and the "ministerial executive," and the half dozen "Ins," were subject to such cruel onslaughts from the half dozen "outs," that in Settlements little better than New Plymouth, where the entire population of the place did

not exceed some couple of thousand people, "resignations of office" and a ministerial crisis would stop the wheels of government about every second week.*

* In justice, however, to the common sense of the great body of the colonists, it should be observed that this fantastical creation of half a dozen local governments was not their work. The Colonists had long desired a good plain representative form of government in place of that Colonial Office and Missionary misrule they had suffered at the hands of Governors Hobson and Fitzroy; but if the new Constitution had been framed by practical Colonists, it would not have been disfigured by the introduction of such ridiculous features as Provincial Councils and the trumpery paraphernalia of parish parliaments. At the time the Home Government was about to yield to the desire of the Colonists for some better form of government, it unfortunately happened that there were present in England certain persons connected with New Zealand who were believed to represent the political views, the wants and wishes of the colony, and who had the ear of the Colonial Office and the support of many influential public men. I allude to Mr. Edward Gibbon Wakefield, to Mr. Fox, and to the members of the Canterbury Association. The former gentleman, though eminently right on the main questions of colonization, had long been famous for certain fallacies in relation to the "price of wild land" and the founding of "model settlements." He seems ever to have been a projector who had rather a love of the complex—an abhorrence of the simple; and when, in proper recognition of his undoubted services to New Zealand, and his long connection with the Colony, he was called on by the Colonial Office and asked to become assistant builder of the new constitution, the picture of these six local governments, in addition to the general government, appears to have been powerfully attractive to him. Mr. Fox was the quasi-political agent of the turbulent little town of Wellington, a place long noted for the idea it entertained of its own importance, and for the political pretensions it put forth; and the prospect of raising Wellington into a little kingdom to be governed by its own parliament was infinitely agreeable to Mr. Fox. But though these gentlemen were, I think, powerful agents in the work of sticking these Provincial Councils into the Constitution, the chief merit of creating these Vestry-Parliaments is unquestionably due to the members of the Canterbury Association, among whom were counted Bishops, Peers, and Commoners, and many men of great renown. Canterbury, their antipodal Utopia, had offered the emigrant public its waste lands at 3*l.* per acre; stately churches, cathedral, college, and hall were to be erected and endowed with the funds; the community was to consist of three orders, Squire, Parson, and Peasant, and it was seen by the noble members of the Association, and by the dilettante colonizers who frequented the Adelphi, that all which was wanted to complete the charm of Canterbury was that it should be erected into an exclusive, independent State, having its own government conducted on principles of high art—a government free from the contamination of connection with any vulgar wool-and-mutton government outside, and one where the esthetics of colonization should ever be studied by a ministry deep in Wakefield and Ruskin, and Pugin, and Plato, and More. The political influence of the Canterbury Association, aided probably by the representations of Mr. Wakefield and Mr. Fox, appear to have been sufficient to induce Sir John Pakington to disfigure his Constitution with these local legislatures, and to raise

The excuse made for setting up these Provincial Councils was worthy of the men who conceived them. It was gravely alleged that our six New Zealand parishes had such different ailments, wants, views, and origins, and were so far apart, that no single General Government could possibly prescribe for them. Now the idea of any one of our little Settlements affecting any peculiar ailment, and demanding a special treatment, may well remind us of the hypochondriacal fine lady who was instantly cured by a bucket of water, and a good shaking. Doubtless each might have had different little wants: Auckland a quay, New Plymouth a jetty, Wellington a water-cart, Nelson a pump, Canterbury a stained window, Otago a new brick-kirk. But we take a fan, not a handspike, to knock down a gnat, and a quick-acting municipality would have supplied all these little local wants far better than the lumbering tripartite machinery of local governor, local ministry, and local parliament—each pretentious little government costing its unfortunate handful of subjects several thousands a year to keep it in useless motion. Each Settlement had the one great overriding want of people—more people—a want compared to which all its other wants, united, were but as leather and prunella; and this king want it would have got supplied infinitely better under some sensible policy of general government, and general emigration system, than under any little mosaic quack policy of its own.

As to *Origin*, certainly the origin of our little Settlements *was* somewhat different: one may have been a Wakefield creation, another a Government pet, a third a Devonshire bantling, a fourth a pretentious Puseyite infant, a fifth a Free Kirk child of grace. But if each little Settlement had a different father, each had a common mother. Traces even of their semi-distinctive origin were fast wearing away, each was becoming cosmopolitan in character; and if Norfolk and Suffolk were now to remove themselves from the government of

Canterbury and Wellington into little quasi-independent Colonies; and as Canterbury and Wellington could not decently be raised to this dignity alone, the sister settlements, Auckland, Taranaki, Nelson, and Otago, were summoned from plough and harrow and invested with the plush, the purple, too.

Westminster because their origin was East Anglian, they would exhibit nothing more than the provincial stupidity which New Plymouth or Otago might exhibit in refusing allegiance to a general New Zealand Government because their origin was Devonian or Caledonian.

The argument that the six infant settlements were too *distant* from each other to be governed from a common centre, was the argument that Perthshire, Tyrone, Cornwall, and Cumberland, could not be governed from London. The six Settlements, or Provinces, joined each other; and nothing but wilful blindness or crass stupidity could have prevented the advocates of separate governments from foreseeing that as population spread, as infant towns arose, as the beautiful wilderness became dotted with village and spire, the very boundaries of the Provinces would be socially obliterated; and that as civilisation advanced, the various Settlements, if no legislative obstacles intervened, would naturally in a few years smoothly fuse down into one common colony, just as our English counties have fused down into one common country. Indeed, if the seat of government were removed to Nelson, and two weekly screw-steamers plied up and down the coast, the capital of New Zealand (far more centrally fixed than the capital of Great Britain) would be reached from any one of the other seven Settlements more easily than Westminster was reached a few years ago by half the country members. And if this were done, and if each Settlement had its mayor and municipality for the conduct of local affairs, it is not the slightest exaggeration to say that a General Central-Government could legislate for all parts of New Zealand quite as befittingly and effectively as a General Central-Government legislates for all parts of the United Kingdom.

The creation of these pretentious Provincial-Councils in the room of modest municipalities with town and rural jurisdictions was a grievous blunder; and the inherent evils of the blunder have been aggravated by certain legislative privileges with which the Constitution, unwittingly though, I think, has endowed such Councils. I allude to the fact of the Constitution allowing any member of a Provincial Council to be at the same time a member of the House of Representatives. At the passing of our New Zealand Reform Bill, we heard a great

deal from Mr. Fox and Mr. Wakefield about "balance of power," and how beautifully one branch of our legislature was to check and regulate the other, as in the English Constitution. Now, if the exact duties, the precise rights, powers, and privileges of the two governing bodies in New Zealand (the Parliament and the Provincial Councils) had been clearly defined by Sir John Pakington and the framers of the New Zealand Constitution, *then*, in that case, I grant that the admission of the members of these Provincial Councils to seats in the New Zealand House of Commons might perhaps have been attended with beneficial results. But the case becomes widely different when we see that the respective powers of these two governing bodies were *not* clearly and authoritatively defined, and when it was even foreseen that a struggle for legislative supremacy would be the necessary consequence of their conjoint existence. As things are in England, the Mayors of Hull and York, and a hundred other municipalities, might, perhaps, worthily represent these boroughs in the House of Commons; but if in England any great question arose as to endowing English municipalities with half the power and patronage of the kingdom, of intrusting to them the conduct of war and the management of the Exchequer, it is clear that the presence of their "worships" in the House would be injurious to the interests of the State, and that their *right* of presence there would constitute a grave defect in the Constitution. Just so in New Zealand. In some sessions of the New Zealand Parliament, nearly half the whole House has been made up of these members of Provincial Councils, these mayors of New Zealand village-towns. Thus, when any measure has been proposed like the Land Act of '54, stripping the General Assembly of power and heaping it on Provincial Councils, the Hon. the Provincial-Council members have ever been found clamorous among the "Ayes;" and when any opposite measure has been discussed, any measure *reducing* the powers of these turbulent little vestry Parliaments, the Hon. the Provincial-Council members have ever been noisy among the "Noes." The more legislative power they could strip from the General Government, the more legislative power they would have to divide among their parochial satellites at home. Indeed I can only regard the Provincial

Councilmen in the House of Representatives as enemies in the camp; and, should greatness ever be thrust on me, and I be thrust into the New Zealand House of Commons, I should deem it my first duty to my constituents to make every Provincial Councilman I found there as uncomfortable as possible; and, despite "Punch," should conclude a weakly philippic at him with the "Timeo Danaos et dona ferentes"—a course of persecution which we might hope would eventually drive him to accept the Chiltern Hundreds and to hurry back to the obscurity of his provincial parish, considerably enlightened as to the fact that among the Commons of New Zealand *he* at least was not "the right man in the right place;" and that for the future it would be advisable to confine himself to local pumps, and paving, and to write up in his Council Chamber, directly over the Speaker's chair, "Ne sutor ultra crepidam."

Again, owing to the elements of which they are composed, these Provincial, or *Town*, Councils as we should rather term them, are the very *reverse* of Representative Institutions. It is to be remembered that the annual session of each of them is held in the little town which passes for the capital of the Province. The "wealth-producers" of the Province, the rural settlers, the flock-masters, stock-owners, graziers, agriculturalists, miners, mill-owners, land-owners, and others, are a busy set of people—day by day battling with the wilderness and actively employed with hand and head in improving their homes and homesteads, and in creating and extending their little estates. These "rural settlers" produce nineteen-twentieths of the whole of each Province's exports; and the "town dwellers," traders, storekeepers, and the like (mere buyers and sellers) are, comparatively, but a petty portion of the young community revolving round the "rural settlers," and living on and by the products and profits which these raise from the soil for the common good. But, virtually, these tens of "town dwellers," who produce nothing, give laws to the hundreds of "rural settlers," who produce everything. The mimic parliament, as before observed, holds its session in the little capital of the Province. The great body of the "rural settlers" reside many miles from this place, and in a country like New Zealand, where roads are few and bad, and far

between, twenty miles, in regard to travelling facilities, are quite as much as a hundred miles in England. The "rural settler," the estate-creating agriculturist or flock-master, living and working with his family on his land or station, even if he be only some dozen or twenty, and not fifty or a hundred, miles from the parliamentary Pedlington, cannot jump into a passing train after dinner, reach St. Stephen's for a night's debate, and be home among his flocks and herds by next day's noon. Neither can he leave his wife and children to manage his affairs and take lodgings in the town during the Provincial session. Thus, he rather eschews the honor of becoming a Provincial Councillor, and the local government of a country half as large as England is left to a handful of town dwellers, composed of noisy attorneys, and political M.D.'s, of master butchers and bakers, of oratorical tailors and traders—men who at eventide can lay aside pen and pill-box, blue sleeve, scale, and goose, and stepping across the road to Parliament House can there debate the affairs of State fresh from the domestic muffin, serene from the soothing pipe.

Indeed it is asserted that the Provincial Councils are every session becoming more narrow, local, and inferior in respect to the legislative qualifications of their members; and it is not perhaps too much to say, that if all England north of the Trent were to be ruled locally by the Mayor and Corporation of York, the inhabitants of such district would be represented by their rulers just as much, or just as little, as the Colonists of the New Zealand Provinces are represented by their Provincial Councils. And this partial or non-existent representation, leading as it does to a very natural desire on the part of our Town Councillors to expend the public revenues of the Province *among themselves*, and on public works *in and near the town*, was the main cause why Hawkes' Bay and Marlborough separated from Wellington and Nelson, and will be the main cause why the Bay of Islands, Wanganui, Timaru, and Invercargill will soon, probably, insist on being separated from Auckland, Wellington, Canterbury, and Otago.

Mr. Fox once wrote an excellent little book on New Zealand, and then called it "The Six *Colonies* of New Zealand." Does he know the meaning of the word? Does Bath consist of eight

*cities*, or of eight *parishes*? England and Wales of forty *countries*, or of forty *counties*? New Zealand is *one* colony, at present consisting of some dozen little Settlements, and to call her anything else is a misnomer. Build her up as one united colony, governed by a strong general representative Government, and her natural gifts will create her the home of thousands, and she may well become Britain of the South and Island Queen of the Pacific. Yield to the insensate cry of her Ultra-Provincialists; allow their dozen little vestry-parliaments to destroy her General Assembly, and to dominate the State; split her thus into a dozen rival little communities, with a dozen clashing codes of laws, and we open a true Pandora's box, sow broadcast the seeds of jealousies and animosities, and create such elements of strife that, as Italian history may show us, stranger sights might come to pass in the next century than the sight of Great Britain, in the year 1900, landing an army in New Zealand to suppress the fury of an internecine war.

But, defective as the New Zealand Constitution has already been rendered by the creation of the original half-dozen of these pretentious parish-parliaments, it bids fair to be rendered considerably worse by the creation of half-a-dozen more. Under a late act of the General Assembly * any district in New Zealand possessing a port of entry and 500,000 acres of land may be raised into a separate Province, to be governed by a Provincial Council. Two new Provinces, Hawkes' Bay and Marlborough, as before observed, have already been thus created, and some half-dozen other districts will probably soon seek to be raised

* It is only fair to the Ministry who carried this measure to explain that it is thought they did so in the belief that the measure might gradually tend to the *extinction* rather than to the *perpetuation* of Provincial Councils. It seems to have been somewhat slily held by certain of our "Centralist" politicians, that if each of the present provinces could be cut up into two or three parts, and the new parts turned into separate provinces, the original provinces would necessarily be much humbled in tone; and that with their powers and dignities so crippled and shorn by subdivision, and with the spectacle before them of a dozen or more little parliaments all at work on the unfortunate colony at one time, the most violent of our Provincialists might be so smitten with sorrow or shame at the sight as to consent to the Provincial Parliaments being reduced to their legitimate grade of municipalities, attending to local wants and leaving the government of the colony in the hands of the General Assembly.

to the like status. Thus, in a few years' time, there may be exhibited in the South Pacific a young Colony numbering only some eighty or a hundred thousand inhabitants, yet possessing the following little machinery of government:—One Governor, fourteen Superintendent Lieutenant-governors, one Legislative Council (or House of Peers), one House of Representatives (or General House of Commons), and fourteen Provincial Councils (or Local Houses of Commons), together with one *general* Executive Ministry, and fourteen *local* Executive Ministries. In addition to this, the larger towns, Auckland and Wellington, and others, will probably shake off the rule of their local governments, and insist on being raised into independent municipalities, so that in addition to Governor and Lieut.-Governor, and Life Peer, and M.P., and Local M.P., and General Executive Minister, and Local Executive Minister, we may reasonably hope, ere long, to display a fine crop of Aldermen and Bailies and Provosts and Mayors. It must be remembered, too, that these provincial legislative bodies are by no means *idle* bodies, existing or likely to exist only in name. If they did nothing, and were paid nothing, they would be harmless. But they do a great deal and consume a great deal. They keep the community in a continual state of political restlessness; and either to make speeches or to read speeches, take every second "town-dweller" from his legitimate business of the desk or the counter. The laws and ordinances they pass, and the conflicting character or unintelligibility of many of them, exceed belief. In three sessions alone, six of the Provincial Councils actually passed upwards of two hundred distinct ordinances; and as Charondas the Locrian * was not present among them, they probably discussed as many more.

The establishment above alluded to may suffice for the *Home* establishment of New Zealand—but she requires representation abroad. Each of the six original Provinces having set up a different, or opposition, scheme for the sale and dis-

* Washington Irving, in one of his veracious histories, relates that Charondas the Locrian, "anxious to preserve the code of laws from the cumbersome additions of mere seekers of popularity," ordained that any legislator proposing a new law should do it with a halter round his neck; wherewith in case his measure was rejected they straightway hung him up; and there the matter ended."

posal of its wild lands, and each being the rival of the other in the work of attracting capital and labour from the Mother Country, has found it necessary to set up one in London, a little political and emigratory office—an office where the emigrant-inquirer will generally glean rather too much about the merits of some one Province, and rather too little about the merits of any other. In self-defence, it is probable that each of the new Provinces will have to do the same; each must have a representative in England; so that in addition to our fourteen Legislative Governments in the Colony, we may find ourselves, ere long, in possession of fourteen Emigrationary Agencies in the Mother Country!

How the handful of Colonists will find even the people, to say nothing about the money, to carry on a government of these Brobdignagian proportions, is a problem no man would venture to solve. Indeed, I cannot but think that it is a problem we shall never be actually called on to solve. It appears to me that the very intensity of our political disease may well affect its cure; and that the farce of our possible Fourteen Legislative Bodies may well induce Provincialists to pause, to retrace their steps, and to assist our Centralists to turn New Zealand into one strong united Colony, ruled by one strong united Government. If not—if, like the frog in the fable, we persist in seeking to inflate ourselves to death—I trust the Mother Country will mercifully step in before the catastrophe happens, and taking back that big constitution garment which she thought was for our good, will replace it with another—another, more fitting for our inches, more seemly for our tender youth.

### Public Revenue and Expenditure.

The public revenue of the Colony for the year 1860 may perhaps be estimated at about £600,000. It is derived from two great sources: nearly half from the sums received for Customs Duties and from the small items of postage, licenses, fines, and fees, forming what is called "Ordinary Revenue;" and the remainder from sums received by the sale and lease of the public waste lands of the Colony, forming what is called "Territorial Revenue."

No less than three-eighths of the former, and the whole of the latter, amounting to 400,000*l.*, is taken and spent by the eight Provincial Councils, as *local* revenue. These bodies have been suffered to raise some 300,000*l.* in the shape of local loans;* and this lion's share of the Colony's revenue which these local bodies consume goes partly to pay the annual interest of the loans they have raised, and partly to pay the army of small officials they employ—the residue being devoted to local public works. The remaining five-eighths of the "Ordinary Revenue," amounting to some 200,000*l.*, goes to the General Government as *general* revenue, and is expended mainly on Native Purposes,† on the maintenance of the Customs and Post Office departments, including a steam mail service, on the legislative and judicial departments of the General Government, and in providing the annual interest of the Colony's public debt.‡

Owing partly to the existence of no fewer than nine public exchequers, general and local, in New Zealand, and nine Chancellors of the Exchequer; owing partly to the variety of borrowers, to the scramble for money, to the intricate appropriation of funds, and the general confusion of accounts, it would I think defy the most accomplished accountant to state precisely what may be New Zealand's exact financial position in this present year of our Lord 1860. But as far as a painful study of com-

* The power recklessly accorded to, or taken by, these "Vestry Parliaments" of borrowing large sums of money on local securities, is productive of bad results. It encourages a large establishment and a lavish expenditure. Offices are multiplied, salaries increased, public works jobbed; whilst if the day should come when any of these little settlements should be unable or unwilling to meet its liabilities, the financial credit of the whole colony would be damaged just as "Pennsylvania's Repudiation" damaged the character of the public securities of every State in the Union.

† In the Budget of the Colonial Treasurer (the Chancellor of the Exchequer), the Hon. C. W. Richmond, for 1859, some 15,000*l.* is required for native schools and other native purposes, and about 20,000*l.* for postal purposes.

‡ The Act of Parliament which conferred the Constitution on New Zealand most unjustly charged the trading losses of the New Zealand Company, losses amounting to more than a quarter of a million sterling, and which were chiefly incurred in planting the two settlements of Wellington and Nelson, as a debt on the young colony; and to pay off this debt, and some others, and likewise to provide a sufficient fund for the purchase of further portions of the North Island from the native owners, the General Government, under the guarantee of the Imperial Government, has lately borrowed 500,000*l.* at 4*l.* per cent.

plicated state papers and contradictory provincial budgets enables us to guess, we may assume that the foregoing figures are an approximation to the truth, and that the present financial position of the Colony may be roughly described as being this:—Entire public debt, 800,000*l.*, paying an average rate of interest of about 5*l.* per cent.; entire present public revenue, 600,000*l.*, annually increasing at the rate of about 25*l.* per cent.: the General Government, for general purposes, appropriating only one-third of this sum,—the eight Local Governments, for local purposes, appropriating the remainder.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE.—The civil and criminal law is virtually the same as in England. For judicial purposes the colony is divided into three districts, viz., the Northern, formed by the provinces of Auckland, Taranaki, and Hawkes' Bay; the Middle, by the provinces of Wellington, Marlborough, and Nelson; and the Southern, by the provinces of Canterbury and Otago. These districts are judicially presided over by one chief and two puisne judges, appointed by the Crown, who receive salaries of from 1,500*l.* to 1,200*l.* a year, and who hold a judicial assize, duly attended by attorney-barrister,* in the chief town of each Province of their districts for the jury trial of any civil or criminal cases which may prove beyond the jurisdiction of the police magistrates and the minor sessional and debt courts.†

PATRONAGE.—The non-legislative officers of the General Government, consisting of some twenty resident magistrates and collectors of customs, half-a-dozen land-purchase commissioners, and a score or two of survey, post-office, judicial and treasury officers, at salaries ranging from 500*l.* to 200*l.* a-year, and as many second-class employés, at salaries varying from 200*l.* to

* By an ordinance passed, I think, in 1859, barristers may practise as attorneys, and attorneys as barristers, for a period of eight years. The forensic wig and gown are not always worn; but the feeling of the judges and the public is, I think, in favour of the professional costume.

† A Court, called the "Resident Magistrate's Court," is used for the recovery of any debt not exceeding 20*l.*; and a wider Court of Requests, found in every chief settlement, held once a month, and called the "Circuit Court," takes cognizance of debts and civil actions, where the amount claimed is between 20*l.* and 100*l.*: this Court, too, where both parties are agreed, may be used for the recovery of larger sums.

100*l.* a-year, are appointed by the Governor and the Ministry from among the best-qualified resident colonists; whilst the *provincial* officers, such as provincial secretaries and treasurers, harbour-masters, police-inspectors, road-surveyors, &c., &c., at salaries ranging from 300*l.* to 200*l.* a-year, have, hitherto, been appointed by the respective Superintendents of the various Provinces.

Currency.—The currency is exactly the same as in England, each coin bears the same positive and relative value. The Union Bank of Australia (Office, 38, Old Broad-street, London) has branches at Auckland, Nelson, Wellington, Napier, Canterbury, and Otago, and issues its own paper; and the London Oriental Bank Corporation has lately opened a New Zealand branch at Auckland, and has extended its operations to the other Settlements. Notes, however, are proportionately less common than in England, and three-fourths of the common every-day payments of the colonists are made in specie or in checks.

Religious and Educational Institutions.—There is no state-church in New Zealand. There is a Church Establishment, comprising now five bishops, various archdeacons, and a body of lower clergy—but it is an establishment supported by the voluntary contributions of its members, by certain endowments of the old New Zealand Company, by gifts and bequests of wealthy churchmen, and by pecuniary assistance furnished by societies in England for the extension of the church abroad.

The Wesleyans are also a numerous, and a most deservedly influential body; and maintain a far better regulated, and a far more colonially popular, "Missionary Establishment" than the Church does.

The Free Kirk of Scotland is represented at Otago; Roman Catholics have little establishments at Auckland and Wellington; and Dissenting congregations of various denominations are found in each of the six chief Settlements.

The various Provinces have appropriated several thousand pounds of their annual public revenues to the endowment and support of Grammar and Free Schools; and these, together

with the Church and Wesleyan colleges at Auckland, the private commercial academies and ladies' seminaries, and the flourishing Sunday schools of various religious bodies, afford fair means of secular and religious training, and no family now going to New Zealand would be left without the means of giving their children a good plain education.

THE PRESS.—The "fourth estate" is well represented, the colonists supporting five or six bi-weekly and as many weekly papers, besides one or two little periodicals. The press is conducted with considerable vigour and ability; and now and then a "leading article" of one of the crack journals, such as the "Nelson Examiner," "New Zealander," and one or two others, would not do discredit even to the Leviathan of London.

Our New Zealand papers would, however, much enhance their usefulness, if they would make themselves less exclusively political. They plead that their subscribers are electors, keen local politicians, and that they must write to please these, the hundreds, who pay. But there are thousands at home who may pay some day: thousands who want to know what a man can do in New Zealand with 500*l.*, what progress is making in exports, what a fat sheep or a hapuka weighed, whose reaping-machine made the best work, what fruit appeared at the Horticultural Show, who grew the monster cabbage, &c., &c., who would not care twopence to read a Superintendent's speech, or to hear about a ministerial crisis, or the ratting of a provincial councillor. The editor of a London paper is sometimes unable to find in a whole batch of New Zealand journals matter for a single column which would interest his emigrant readers! and I cannot but think that the New Zealand press would materially help the colony abroad, and not hurt it much at home, if it would pitch half the anonymous balderdash received from "Indignant Electors," "Britons," "Provincial Councillors," &c., &c., into the fire, and devote the columns so saved to "chips for home readers," and to "facts for the Emigrant."

## CHAPTER XI.

### EXPORTS AND MARKETS.

Some misconception exists on the subject of a young Colony's exports. It seems to be held that a young colony is like a young man—the first duty and necessity of each being to produce something, to have means of living. But, in truth, the young colony is like the young child—each being a consumer, only *growing up* to the "producing state."

Except there be Diggings, a young emigration field cannot, for many years, produce exports. The Pioneers who first venture thither have to house and feed themselves, to clear patches of the stubborn forest and smooth them into corn-fields, to make roads and bridges, to lay out villages, and rough-hew the infant colony out of the rugged waste. By the time the new Land has thus been made to feed, its first comers, others have arrived to eat up any surplus. Pioneer emigrants, say of 1850, sell their surplus to emigrants of 1852, and both do the same by the emigrants of 1854. The young colony *has* no export, and *needs* no export, because all surplus produce is consumed by good customers at home; and it is only when *Population* has settled in the wilderness, and caused home-production to increase faster than home-consumption, that a young colony can have, or can need, much of a foreign market. A British colony's "manhood exporting state," if I may coin the expression, has seldom or never been attained under a quarter of a century. By official registry New Zealand is twenty years old; but, owing to the stunting disasters of her infant days, she is virtually but little more than a "Miss of ten." The pioneer settlers who were risking their lives or fortunes in New Zealand from about 1840 to 1850, were not producers of much. They were a handful of half-ruined men tilling patches of soil round their dwellings for

necessary food; but wisely forbearing to cultivate those fertile lands from which a fatuous Government, banded with a lawless savage, might any day eject them. Virtually, therefore, New Zealand's age is little more than ten; so that, looking at the past progress of other colonies, a dozen years or more may well elapse ere she becomes a great exporting colony.

But the artifical attainment of the "manhood exporting age," and the natural *power of exporting*, are two distinctly different things. In the latter, New Zealand may rank with any country in the world. She is by nature the stock-farm, granary, dairy-farm, brewery, and orchard of the South Pacific; and, unquestionably, is *capable* of producing for British markets an export of wool and tallow, alone, of from five to six millions sterling per annum.*

The present chief exports of the colony are wool, with a little gold, copper, oil, flax, spars, and kauri-gum shipped to England; and agricultural exports, with a little kauri-gum, oil, flax, and timber, shipped chiefly to Australia.

The four articles which will eventually figure in New Zealand exports, after wool, tallow, oils, corn, general agricultural exports, and perhaps ores, will probably be these: ship-provisions (cured-beef and pork), fine ales, spars and pine timber, and flax, or hemp. As to "*Ship Provisions*," New Zealand, we must remember, is close to the Australian marine, not remote from the

The wool export exhibits the following ratio of increase:—

| | | £ |
|---|---|---|
| 1853. | Officially declared value of wool export | 67,000 |
| 1854. | " " | 70,000 |
| 1855. | " " | 95,000 |
| 1856. | " " | 150,000 |
| 1857. | " " | 170,000 |
| 1858. | " " | 260,000 |
| 1859. | " " | 340,000 |
| 1860. | Estimated value | 470,000 |

Thus doubling itself in about every four years: a ratio of increase which may probably be maintained for a considerable time. For, though the wild grazing lands are pretty well stocked up, the farm pasture lands (the true fleece-bearing lands) have scarcely yet been brought into use. Tallow, too, as flocks and herds increase, must also become a great export, and will bear a far larger relative value to the wool export than it does in Australia. Indeed, New Zealand sheep and cattle are said to carry fifty per cent. more of fat and tallow than the thin, parched, short-pastured animals of Australia.

Indian marine, and is central amid the whaling fleet; whilst, thanks to soil and climate combined, there is probably no country south of the equator where prime mess beef and pork could be produced so cheaply and so well.

As to "*Ale*," there is a vast consumption of pale ale in India and Australia; and, as observed in a following page, nature has fitted New Zealand for a brewery by giving her cool nights, a profusion of the finest, soft-water streams, and a soil and climate suited alike to barley and to hop. As to *Timber*, the woods of Australia, and indeed of almost every country south of the Line, are for the most part hard, brittle, and bad to work; whilst New Zealand possesses the noble kauri, the finest spar and deck timber in the world, and three other pines, together with abundant water-power for the cheap production of sawn-stuff. With regard to "*Flax*" or "*Hemp*," it is true that the process for the marketable preparation of New Zealand flax has yet to be discovered; but without being over-sanguine, may we not reasonably hope that the value of the stake will stimulate genius to win it; and that, eventually, some antipodal Compton or Arkwright will succeed in freeing our Phormium tenax from that gummous parasite which alone prevents it from becoming the King of Textiles?

But, recollecting that, as yet, we have set foot on but some half-dozen spots of New Zealand, it would be a rash assumption were we now to assume that wool and tallow, and oil and corn, and meat and ale, and gold, and flax, and timber, sufficient as such exports would be to make her rich, will be her *only* exports, or even her *chief* exports. The history of commerce shows that the spread of population in a new country ultimately reveals many articles of export which its pioneer settlers overlooked. Years elapsed ere America discovered wealth in cotton, South Australia in copper, New South Wales in wool, Victoria in gold; and the spread of population in New Zealand, the magic touch of capital and labour, may reveal gums, barks, dyes, fibres, oils, ores, and many other articles of export as yet undreamt of or unseen.

On data furnished by the statistics of the last two years, we may I think estimate the gross value of all New Zealand exports

for the year 1860 at about 700,000*l.*; and a comparative glance at the "exporting power" of various older colonies will show us that infant New Zealand gives fair promise of strong arms and full pockets when arrived at man's estate.

APPROXIMATE VALUE of the ANNUAL EXPORTS to the UNITED KINGDOM, "PER HEAD," of the POPULATIONS of the BRITISH COLONIES which are "Emigration Fields;" and the Approximate AGE of such Colonies, dating from the commencement of their virtual colonisation.

| COLONY. | AGE. | Annual Exports per Head. |
|---|---|---|
| | | £. |
| Canada, and our N. A. Colonies. . | 100 years old. | 2 |
| The Cape Colony. . . . . | 60 ,, | 5 |
| New South Wales. . . . . | 50 ,, | 10 |
| Tasmania . . . . . | 50 ,, | 6 |
| South Australia . . . . . | 25 ,, | 8 |
| Victoria . . . . . | 20 ,, | 20 |
| New Zealand . . . . . | 10 ,, | 8 |

The relative proximate *Ages* of the Colonies are, I think, fairly taken here. By official registry our North American Colonies are more than 200 years old, whilst New Zealand is 20. But looking at the various obstructions "to export production" in both quarters (at Red Indian wars and massacres in the one, and at Missionary misrule, Maori troubles and land difficulties in the other), we may fairly cut off half their years, and date their ages, not from their first settlement, but from the time of the commencement of their substantial progress. As regards the Australian Colonies, it has to be observed that both New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land have had the exceptional advantage of a vast amount of cheap convict labour, which has sensibly increased their power of "export production;" and that though Victoria, as a separate colony, is only nine years old, yet that the territory which forms her area, like that of Queensland, was a settled wool-producing country twenty years ago.

MARKETS.—In all human probability, Wool will become the great staple export of New Zealand; and staples like wool, tallow, and hides, together with gold, oil, ores, and flax, would find an excellent, a permanent, and, virtually, an unlimited market in the mother-country. Our power of largely *producing* all these things may possibly be questioned by our brother-colonists in Africa, America, and Australia—but, once produced, it is clear that there exists a sure and certain market for them.

The important question of "Markets," therefore, has only to be raised with respect to a *portion* of New Zealand's exports, namely, agricultural produce for Australia. In the three years of 1854-5 and 6, New South Wales and Victoria imported from New Zealand, farm and dairy produce to the amount of nearly half a million sterling; and the question is, will these colonies, for the future, feed themselves, or, remaining chiefly wool and gold colonies, will they continue to import their food, or a portion of it, from New Zealand? I conceive that the latter will be the case; and that, although as population increases, and as blank gold weeks intervene, New South Wales and Victoria may considerably *increase* their production of home-grown corn, yet that, while they remain great wool and gold countries, they will continue considerable importers of food; and will find that they can supply themselves with a portion of their breadstuffs and dairy produce from New Zealand, and other countries, cheaper, on an average of years, than they could grow such portion for themselves.

There are districts in New South Wales and Victoria capable, in favourable seasons, of producing quite as fine crops of corn and vegetables as can be produced anywhere in New Zealand. But favourable seasons are not the rule in Australia. The experience of half a century shows that Australia is periodically subject to torrid heats and droughts which bake-up the land and reduce vegetation to a brown powder.* The mean

* "Of all the features of Australian climatology, drought is the most prominent and forbidding. I find in my diaries, periods of four and five months without one drop of rain: live stock and grain crops ruined; and the country like tinder, susceptible to the smallest spark. In April, 1849, the sun set at Sydney for several weeks successively in a lurid haze of smoke. During his last two hours above the horizon, the weakest eye might gaze unwinking at his rayless disk. The whole west was either in flames or smouldering. In January, 1850, during a lengthened drought the north shore of the harbour was on fire for ten or twelve days. At night it looked like a line of twenty or thirty huge furnaces, extending over some fifteen miles. The city was shrouded in smoke, and the air was pervaded with the aromatic odour of the burning gum-trees. Many poor settlers would have been ruined but for a liberal subscription raised for the sufferers. In 1851, hundreds of miles of country in Victoria were included in one vast conflagration, and as many families were brought to destitution by the destruction of their property. The heavens were obscured for a long period by a canopy of smoke, the soot falling on board vessels at sea one hundred and fifty miles distant from the land. When the rain does come

average yield of wheat in New South Wales and Victoria, for a period of ten years, has been found to be only thirteen bushels an acre, of potatoes three tons! And this ten years' average yield has been reduced to this sorry mean not because there were no fine crops in the ten years, when the yield was double—but because, during the ten years, there were years of droughts and climatic blights which nearly annihilated the crops altogether.

Now, in New Zealand the climate, if we may so express it, is even more agricultural than the soil; and the two *combined*, create both a certainty and a fulness of crop which, I think, is scarcely to be found in any other country in the world.

Assuming, therefore, as we may fairly do, that the cost of producing a bushel of wheat is the same in Australia as in New Zealand, the greater average yield of the New Zealand acre* would enable the New Zealand farmer to offer his sea-

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it comes with a vengeance, sometimes carrying away, in its torrents, roads, gardens, walls, palings, and bridges, which had proved invulnerable to the preceding bush-fires. Every highway becomes a river, every byway a brook, every bank a cataract. The thunder cracks right over head like the report of a gun. Hailstones come rattling down an inch long, knocking over young live-stock and domestic poultry, levelling orange orchards and vineyards, breaking windows and human heads; still, in twenty-four hours, or less, the dust is blowing about as bad as ever. No one who has not lived in a country liable to drought can appreciate the eagerness with which every assemblage of clouds is watched; with what feelings of disappointment their breaking up without yielding a drop is accompanied; with what thankfulness the boon of moderate rain and showers is received when it does come! 'My word!' cries the inland squatter, 'this will fill the water-holes rarely, and save me a thousand or two head of stock, which would otherwise have died for want of water.' He is delighted with the gift, though he may possibly lose two or three horses, if not his own life, in attempting to cross the bottom, where yesterday there was nothing to be seen moister than a glaring white sand, hot enough to boil a retort. But the long droughts, excessive heat, hot winds, bush-fires, &c., which are peculiar to Australia, are more serious and destructive to the agricultural interest and squatter's stock, and have a more injurious effect on the landed proprietor's purse than his person. Although attended with considerable personal inconvenience and occasional injury, these atmospheric excesses and transitions tend rather to cripple or retard the progress of agriculture than to inflict any serious or immediate danger on the human frame."—A Colonist's Letter in "Rise and Progress of Australia."

* The average yield of wheat in New Zealand, even under the present "no-farming" system, cannot I think be taken at less than from 20 to 25 bushels per acre; and improved farming, the introduction even of a little manure, might increase this average fully one-third. But Mechi himself could not battle against a torrid season in Australia, and double crops, there, despite a three months' torrid drought.

borne agricultural produce in the Australian market at a lower price than the price agricultural produce could sometimes be grown at, profitably, in Australia.*

With regard to the countries which might compete with New Zealand in partly feeding Australia, namely, the United States, South America, South Australia, and Tasmania, I think we may fairly reason as follows:—Labour is at present much dearer in New Zealand than in either North or South America; but, as population flows in, labour will become cheaper in New Zealand, and then a ton of fine flour would be produced there perhaps more cheaply than in any country in the world. But though the advantages of *producing* the export for the Australian market, may, as yet, rest with the two Americas, the advantages of *getting the export to the market* are all with New Zealand—for whilst she has only 1000 miles of sea carriage, South America has 7000, and North America 14,000. With regard to South Australia, no country produces finer wheat; but in combined yield and certainty of crop South Australia is scarcely equal to New Zealand; and I do not imagine that she is capable of sending breadstuffs, and certainly not dairy produce, to Sydney and Melbourne at lower prices that New Zealand could supply them at. As to Tasmania, however fertile and productive she may be, she is but small; and in the question of supplying future millions in Australia with food, Tasmania must be regarded as the orchard and the kitchen-garden rather than as the farm.

A South Australian paper concludes an excellent article on the subject of the Victoria and South American flour markets, with these remarks:—

"The sum of the evidence given then by our practical agricultural witnesses is, that 5*s*. a bushel for wheat would be a remunerative price for our South Australian farmers. 5*s*. per bushel for wheat would average 14*l*. per ton for flour, at which

* The subject of wheat-growing has lately occupied much attention in Victoria, and several gentlemen engaged in agricultural pursuits have expressed their opinions in the public papers. Mr. C. J. Dennys, of Mount Moriac, near Geelong, estimates the cost of growing and harvesting wheat at 11*l*. 16*s*. 5*d*. per acre, and shows the cost per bushel to be 9*s*. 3¼*d*. Another gentleman states that with wheat at 10*s*. per bushel its growth would be attended with loss to the farmer.

price we need never despair of a market for any quantity. With wheat at 5*s*. per bushel, bread could be sold at 3½*d*. the 2 lb. loaf—a price quite low enough to satisfy the utmost craving for cheapness. So that, if the evidence quoted may be relied upon, it is perfectly clear that wheat in this colony may be cultivated to any extent with profit to the farmer, and at a price which no working man can have occasion to complain of.

"But the question is whether, as the land is now cultivated, wheat can be profitably sold at 5*s*. per bushel? Farmers say it is a paying price, and that even less would do; but it may be that a considerable portion of the land in crop would need greatly superior cultivation to that now bestowed before wheat, with present prices of labour, could be sold at a profit for 5*s*. per bushel. But, at the same time, it must be evident that an enhanced price can never be justified in order that inferior modes of cultivation may be protected. Better for the farmer to get a fair profit out of 5*s*. with good cultivation, than to get the same profit out of 7*s*. with bad cultivation.

"The price of wheat, however, will depend not only upon the supply and demand of South Australia, but with the demand of Victoria superadded. *For years to come Victoria must be a bread-importing country.* The extent of her importations may vary, and a feeling in favour of raising supplies within the province may influence the markets in a slight degree; but it is as impossible to persuade the working men of the Victorian gold fields to follow the plough's tail as it would be to persuade the farmers of Mount Barker and Macclesfield to devote their energies to mining at Echunga. In Victoria, gold-digging pays better than wheat-growing, therefore they dig for gold. In South Australia wheat-growing pays better than gold-seeking, therefore they grow wheat. And as long as the Victorian gold fields are profitable, so long will the South Australian corn fields be profitable too.

"The wheat and flour market of Victoria is, of course, intimately affected by the importations from Chili. In the vast tracts of country at the foot of the Cordillera mountains an almost unlimited quantity of wheat can be grown; but it is quite an error to suppose that Chilian wheat and flour can be had at nominal prices. Nearly all the business at Valparaiso

is transacted through merchants, who will not reduce the market to an unprofitable point. It must also be remembered that although there is plenty of wheat land in Chili, and notwithstanding that labour is cheap, the system of farming pursued is of the most rude and ineffective character. We are not to reason as if the Chilian farmers combined the advantages of high farming and improved implements with cheap land and cheap labour. They have the latter, but not the former; and are consequently placed so far at a disadvantage. The price of Chilian flour never ranges so low as to compete with South Australian wheat at 5*s.* per bushel. The minimum price of Chilian flour on board at Valparaiso is 10*l.* per ton; but no dependence can ever be placed by importers on getting it at so low a figure. The Chilian market supplies not only the Australian colonies, but to some extent, the English market; and prices at Valparaiso are ruled by prices at Liverpool and London. The charge for freight between Valparaiso and Port Adelaide is about 5*l.* per ton, to which must be added 3*l.* more for commission, insurance, risk of damage, warehouse expenses, &c., *making* 8*l. per ton expenses of bringing the flour from South America to this port. Under the most favourable circumstances, therefore, Chilian flour could not be sold in the colonies under* 18*l. per ton; but the average would probably be* 20*l. per ton—equal to* 7*s.* 6*d. a bushel.* The last cargo cost 25*l.* per ton on landing; and the whole history of the flour trade between the South American coast and these colonies proves beyond a doubt that there is no competition from that quarter which can give the South Australian farmer cause to fear. If 20*l.* a ton, or even if 15*l.* a ton, is a paying price for flour here, with a natural protection of 8*l.* resulting from proximity of the market, we must be unsuccessful indeed to be beaten."

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The reader, however, must not suppose from these remarks on "Agricultural Markets" that New Zealand aspires to become the Sicily of Australia—she boasts higher industrial aims. She merely believes that when her colonists send a portion of their corn and esculents, their butter and cheese, and ham and bacon, and fruits and honey to Australia, Australia's port and

city populations, her hungry diggers, and drought-smitten knights of the pick, will be happy, especially in certain years, to buy such produce at good prices, and to pay for it in their brightest gold. But in saying this, and in concluding these remarks on Exports and Markets, I would add a word of caution to all New Zealand farmers, present or to come. Those semi-famine, "rush-to-the-diggings," times, which put so much gold in our pockets in 1852, 1853, and 1854, when new and hungry comers were choking up the wharves of Sydney and the streets of Melbourne, and when there was almost a *scramble* for food, are gone, I think, never to return. Seven to eight shillings a bushel for wheat, and 5*l.* per ton for picked potatoes, are probably the highest average prices which for the future the Australian markets are likely to offer us. If the New Zealand farmer will only keep the weed down, plough without his pipe, use hoe and harrow a little more, tobacco a little less, and get to work *before* noon, these prices (free of rent, tax, and tithe) will pay him well. But wheat and potatoes are bulky damageable articles; his Australian market is both a limited and a capricious market; and he and his fellows may produce far too much of wheat and potatoes, these A's and B's of New Zealand agriculture. Dairy produce: firkins of fine butter, rich cheeses, noble hams, and flitches of bacon, less bulky and less perishable than wheat and potatoes, would sell at high prices in twenty markets in the Australasian and Indian Seas, where potatoes could not be carried, and where wheat might prove a drug. But the production of less corn and more dairy produce, though it would make the New Zealand farmer *safer*, would still not be sufficient to make him *safe*, and defiant alike of storms and times. What he wants to know and act on, what I tell him here, and what he should inscribe over his mantelpiece, and repeat every morning after breakfast, is this:—"*the great, safe, and certain export of New Zealand is not wheat and potatoes, and butter and bacon for Sydney and Melbourne, but wool! wool! fine, long, combing wool, for Huddersfield and Halifax, and Bradford and Leeds.*" In short, the New Zealand farmer should have *three* strings to his bow, of which the strongest should be the *pastoral* string; and that system of farming which would prove both the most beneficial to the Colony, and the safest and

most lucrative to the farmer, would be the "mixed system," leading to some such apportionment and use of every 100 acres of farmed land as this :—

| | Acres. |
|---|---|
| Wool-growing and sheep-breeding department (pasture) . . . . . | 50 |
| Dairy-farm and cattle-breeding department (pasture and roots) . . . . . | 25 |
| Arable department (grain, fruits, and vegetables). | 25 |
| | 100 |

## CHAPTER XII.

### FARMING AND GRAZING PURSUITS, AND THE CREATION OF LANDED ESTATES.

PURCHASING, RENTING, AND LEASING LAND.—The farmed and grazed lands of New Zealand, operated on by the emigrant, are either the wild lands of the Colony in their pristine state, or lands which have been wholly or partly reclaimed by preceding cultivators. The former are purchased or leased under some of the public terms described in Chapter XVI.; the latter are of course bought, or leased, or rented on such private terms as the contracting parties may be able to agree on. In the American emigration fields, in the rude backwoods of Canada and Nova Scotia, where the emigrant has to struggle against both a hyperborean winter and a soil covered with dense forests, it may be said that a class of pioneering settlers has sprung up who make almost a *business* of preparing wild lands for the emigrant, and, there, the new comer may generally buy some little half-made farm on easy terms. But in New Zealand, owing to the geniality of the climate and the character of the soil, the work of bringing wild land into cultivation is comparatively an easy task. The settlers, too, who have preceded the emigrant, are generally found to take a pride in the little estates they have created, to be attached to the little homes they have made, and, for the most part, are only to be tempted into selling or letting the acres they have won from the wilderness by the offer of such a price as it would be improvident to give. Hence, agricultural emigrants, arriving in New Zealand, generally pass by our half-made farms as expensive luxuries which they cannot afford, and almost ever find it best to take the wild land at the low Government price, and gradually clear it themselves.

SOILS.—Agriculture is in so backward a state with us, agricul-

tural chemistry is a thing at present so little cared for or understood, that no scientific analysis of our various soils has yet been made. Much of the best soil of the North Island might perhaps be rudely described as a light vegetable or volcanic surface soil of from six to ten inches in depth, often lying on a deep, porous, yellow subsoil—a subsoil, in such districts as Taranaki, singularly pure and free from stones, shell, gravel, or clay; whilst in the South Island a considerable portion of the farm lands may be said to consist of a vegetable surface soil lying on light or loamy clay.

Contrary to popular opinion, however, I do hold the soil of New Zealand to be, intrinsically, a very rich soil. It is a virgin soil of fair average fertility, but nothing more—a soil by no means so rich as some I have seen in America and Canada, and the great arable and grazing capabilities of New Zealand arise mainly from a happy combination of three great causes:—

1st. The peculiarly genial, "manure-acting," character of the climate, alike favourable to the rapid increase of all domestic animals, and to the production of every root, grain, and grass of the British Isles.

2nd. The easiness with which farm land may be kept in cultivation when the surface is once cleared, and the soil once broken up.

3rd. The non-necessity of providing any winter keep for stock, as in England and America, where half the farmer's time and half his acres have sometimes to be devoted to the task of providing food sufficient to enable him to subsist his sheep, cattle, and horses through the winter.

Indeed, the climate of New Zealand may almost be called her "elemental guano," and does much to equalize the fertility of soils. I have seen poor scrubby-looking lands at Auckland and Canterbury, such as an English farmer might refuse to plough, bearing crops of wheat almost equal to anything ever obtained in that reputed "garden" of the country, New Plymouth; and Dieffenbach's remark that the luxuriance of vegetation in New Zealand was far more attributable to fineness of climate than to richness of soil is one which the experience of many years has shown us to be true. A good

climate, too, is of more value to an agricultural country than a rich soil; for art can create the latter and turn the barren heath into the blooming garden; but art cannot create a good climate, and neither Liebig nor Mechi could grow wheat in Kamskatka or turnips in Timbuctoo.

Wild Lands and Modes of Clearing.—Our New Zealand wild lands are composed of three chief varieties: Fern, Grass, and Bush.

The Fern, is land covered with a dense growth of the common fern of the country (*Pteris esculenta*), three to five feet high, intermixed with a bushy shrub called Tutu, and is generally cleared in this manner. Choosing a dry gentle breezy day (in any season) the fern is fired in half a dozen places to windward; when the fire, running slowly through, shrivels up the tutu, and consumes the tops and branches of the green fern together with all dead bottom-stuff. The charred fern stalks, swept down with a short scythe, are just raked in ridges and burnt, together with the tutu branches, and the "tutu" stumps are then grubbed up, and thrown in heaps for future burning or carted off. The land is then roughly broken up five to six inches deep, with a strong iron plough (wrought-iron share) drawn by two or three pairs of oxen. After lying a week or two to dry and pulverize, it is harrowed, when the fern root is raked in ridges, heaped, and burnt, and the ashes spread. A good levelling cross-ploughing is then given, when the new land, after lying in a kind of "maiden-fallow" for a few months,* will be reduced to a good tilth fit for any crop. The expense of this process varies from 3*l.* to 4*l.* per acre, according to the heaviness of the fern and tutu.

Grass land consists of coarse grasses, often intermixed with scrubby fern, flax, dwarf tutu, toetoe, and ti tree. Where these shrubs grow thick, they are best swept down with bill-hook or

* Fresh fern land is at first infertile through what we call "sourness." An acre, broken up and sown *at once* with any crop, say wheat, might not yield five-fold; an adjoining acre, fallowed a few months, might yield forty-fold. Animal manure does not destroy "sourness." The new soil is full of raw, vegetable matter, and *lime* would probably prove the true "quickener." Grass land is less subject to "sourness" than Fern land, and Bush land scarcely at all.

brushing-bill, and burnt off before the plough is put in: but the lighter, more open, lands of this description may be broken up and cross-ploughed at once, lie fallow a month or two, and then be cropped. The cost of reducing wild grass land to "crop-state," varies from 1*l.* to 2*l.* an acre.

Bush land is the common forest land. In winter the brush-wood is slashed down with bill-hook and hatchet, and the trees thrown with the × cut saw and American axe. The fallen-stuff lies withering and drying through spring and summer, and is burnt-off in autumn. If the first, or "running," fire acts well everything will be consumed save the trunks and the heaviest branches; when the latter are lopped-off, the trunks rolled together, and the whole slowly burnt-up in heaps. The cost of clearing and laying down in grass heavily timbered land, allowing, as is sometimes done, all trees above three feet in diameter to stand, is, inclusive of seed and a rough fence, about 5*l.* per acre. The unsightly (surface-root) stumps remain in the land about four years; when the smaller ones may be torn up with a pair or two of bullocks, and a strong stump-chain, and the land made roughly ploughable. Bush land is much richer than either Fern or Grass land; and for small forty-acre corn and dairy farms, where there may be family hand-labour at command, or for hop-grounds, orchards, kitchen-gardens, or home paddocks, Bush land is best. But the process of first clearing and cultivating it is, comparatively, both so slow and so expensive, that, except in the northern portion of the province of Auckland, nine-tenths of all our agricultural operations are carried on on Fern and Grass lands.

Half, probably, of the whole of the Bush land yet cleared in New Zealand, has been cleared in the province of Auckland, and the Auckland settlers are well qualified to speak of the labour of first converting the forest into corn-field and paddock. The following remarks from one of them gives a good idea of the process; but "Pioneer" must permit me to correct him on two or three points. In the first place, no trees under three feet in diameter should be left standing; and, secondly, he is wrong in allowing only a "match" as the cost of burning off. "Pioneer," operating on the "side of a hill," and having had splendid weather and a most lucky burn, may

have done his work only with a "match." But nine times in ten it will be necessary, after the first fire has done its best, to heap together many unconsumed heavy limbs and fragments of trunks, and burn them off in heaps, and this work will often cost 1*l.* per acre more. Again, "Pioneer" should have added at least 1*l.* to the two items of seed and harvesting, and generally, perhaps, should have recollected that a man cannot be too cautious when he commits himself to figures.

"First, with a small axe or hook thoroughly clear all the underbush. This is essential to a good burning, and must be done before you fell a tree. Then fell away. Now, the large trees can be left standing—the fire will kill them. Some who intend their land for grass only, leave standing all trees above 18 inches in diameter; others, for wheat and other crops, leave only those which exceed three feet in diameter. You see it is a matter of expense: for a man can fell twenty ordinary trees in the time you would take for one large one. Your felling must be finished by the end of September at latest, to give it the summer's drying. Towards the end of the following March, watch well the weather. If heavy rain is 'brewing,' fire your clearing, and if you have taken care to lay your trees all one way, *and down hill*, and you begin your fire at the bottom, you will have a blaze that will astonish you: and a great number of light wood trees, such as the tawa, will burn clean away. In a day or two you will have a rich soil covered with ashes, clean of all weeds, and fit to grow anything. If you want a crop of wheat, or oats, or barley, throw in your seed on your ashes—that's all—no digging nor harrowing. In about a month after it is up, sow your grass seed amongst the wheat. Or, if you want your grass for immediate use, you sow it alone, and in six weeks you have a good bite.

"Now, let us see how this will pay. I put down the clearing at the highest price paid, in which all trees under three feet in diameter were felled. Where all above 18 inches have been left, only 18*s.* per acre has been paid.

| *Cost.* | £. | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Felling an acre . . . . . | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Burning (a match) . . . . . | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Seed (wheat and grass) . . . | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Harvesting. . . . . | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| | £3 | 15 | 0 |

| *Produce.* | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 35 bushels of wheat, at 5*s*. . . . | £8 | 15 | 0 |
| (And, in addition, straw, and an acre of permanent grass that will carry from six to eight sheep per acre.) | | | |

"The uncleared forest, too, is both shelter and food for your cattle. They will get fat in it in the winter, when those in the open country may be only half fed.

"I admit that logs and stumps are unsightly; but what of that, if you and your stock are in plenty? Every year as they dry and decay you can put a little fire to them, and they will soon all disappear. Moreover, on Bush land you can always enjoy a real fireside without your happiness being alloyed by visions of firewood bills in the coals.

"I am, Sir,

"Yours, &c.,

"PIONEER."

"To the Editor of the *New Zealander*."

FARM LABOUR AND IMPLEMENTS.—Hand labour is more than twice as dear in New Zealand as in England. But, owing to the easy-working character of the soil, to the ruder mode of farming, to the greater dependence placed on climate to perfect the crop when the seed is once sown, and to the fact that our New Zealand farms often exhibit a greater proportion of grass land than is common on English farms, much less hand labour, comparatively, is employed, and less, in fact, is needed than in England; and the actual annual expenditure on hand labour on a New Zealand farm would not, I think, be more than some fifty per cent. greater than on an English farm.

Labourers who have bought land, and who are rising into the small-farmer class, are generally willing to devote a portion of their time to taking contract work on the neighbouring farms; and with this, and the help of a regular man or labourer's family kept on the estate (and the master's, and the master's sons', own hands from time to time), the common work of a farm is got through better than would be expected looking at the scarcity of common day labourers. Whilst, owing to the fineness of the weather, and the fact of everybody turning out to help, crops are cut and carried without any extraordinary difficulty or expense at harvest time. Nevertheless, the scarcity and dearness of labour are considerable obstacles to the arable farmer's quick creation of an estate in New Zealand; and constitute a strong additional argument in favour of the plan of making our farms more labour-saving grazing farms, and in favour of the introduction of machinery and improved agricultural implements. As an arithmetical proposition we might say that as labour is full twice as dear in New Zealand as in England, the profit consequent on the introduction of "labour-saving" machinery, would be full twice as great in New Zealand as in England. True political economy unquestionably prescribes machinery as more necessary in young countries than in old. America acts on this truism: she applies machinery to many operations which we perform by manipulation; and in the department of agriculture, had invented and used the celebrated M'Cormick "Reaper" long before such an implement became common in English fields. Indeed, much of the expense of cultivating our lands might be saved, if our farmers would only "wake up," and move more with the spirit of the age. Many of our New Zealand implements are fit only to be burnt; and some of our ploughs bear about as much resemblance to a modern English prize plough, as Noah's Ark may have done to a screw-frigate.

As a general rule, the emigrant, in going to a new country, is apt to make a sad hole in his little capital by providing about twice as many articles of outfit and equipment as are really necessary. "*More money and fewer things,*" *might well be the motto which every man should inscribe in his pocket-book when about to commence the work of fitting out as an emigrant.* Here, how-

ever, as everywhere, there is a happy mean; and if I were now returning to New Zealand to invest 1,000*l.* or so in wild land, and the cultivation and creation of a little estate, I should arm myself with the following first-class implements, procured at the maker's prices, good and *genuine*, and properly packed (see note in chapter on Outfit), of Messrs. Richards and Co., 117 and 118, Bishopsgate, London: who supply mostly articles of Ransome's make.

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. The "general purpose" Y.F.L. plough, fitted with two wheels and two extra wrought-iron shares | 4 | 13 | 6 |
| 2. The "breaking up" Y.F.S. plough, fitted with one or two wheels, steel mould-board and extra-steeled share | 4 | 18 | 0 |
| 3. The "Bentall's patent Broadshare," wood beam, with the two additional swan-neck tines, and the side irons to widen the implement for their use; with extra shares and fittings | 7 | 6 | 0 |
| 4. Adwas' Swedish harrow, with improved spike-roller | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| 5. The improved chain harrows (Cambridge's patent) | 4 | 15 | 0 |
| 6. Horse-rake, steel teeth | 8 | 0 | 0 |
| 7. Winnowing machine | 10 | 0 | 0 |

8. Two or three digging and and harvest forks. Two or three mattocks and shovels. Two or three scythes (one or two to be the short-bladed, stub-scythe sort). Half-a-dozen reaping-hooks and sheep-shears. Half-a-dozen sheep-bells and cow-bells, and two or three complete sets of ox-gear.

This would prove a fair medium provision of the best "pattern-serving" implements for a farm of 200 or 300 acres. If the capital were greater, and operations were going to be conducted on a larger scale, Ransomes' extra strong "breaking-up" S.C.W. plough, and their light one-horse Y.O.H. plough, together with their drill, prize reaper, and two-horse portable threshing machine, might be taken in addition; but (except the first) these articles would not be much required until the commencement of the second year's operations; and thus, if preferred, they might be ordered and sent out after arrival in the Colony. In the case of a small capital of a few

hundreds, where the emigrant looked merely to the cultivation of a little garden farm of fifty acres or so, the "general purpose" Y.F.L. plough, the harrows, and a portion of the things in No. 8, would be the most useful articles to take.

FENCES.—The commonest fences are the ditch and bank, and the post and rail, costing at the present rates of labour about 15*s.* a chain. Quick or furze is generally planted inside. Furze is remarkably luxuriant in its growth; and when trimmed and properly attended to, makes an excellent live fence. To please the eye, it may be mixed with the wild-rose, broom, and geranium, all of which attain a great size in New Zealand, and become strong thick shrubs. The best plant, however, for permanent live fences, may possibly prove to be the Osage orange. It is said to grow with great rapidity, but to require cutting down within a foot of the ground every year for three years, in order to give the plant the necessary broad-spread form of growth, when it soon becomes a permanent hedge far superior to quick. Messrs. Gibbs, the eminent seedsmen, inform me that it was introduced into the United States some years ago by a Mr. Pitkin of Manchester, Connecticut, who devotes his whole attention to the growth of it, and who carries on a large business in the sale of the seed. Since attention was called to the Osage orange in the first edition of this work, the plant has been introduced into the nursery gardens at Wellington and Canterbury, and after many inquiries I find that the seed may occasionally be procured of Messrs. Carter, 238, Holborn, London. Little or no iron fencing has yet been imported; but here and there a few iron hurdles would prove a valuable introduction on a grazing farm. The first cost would be three times greater than that of the common fences; but hurdles are easily shifted from place to place, and would serve as a protection to the young live fences several times, when the common stationary fences would serve such purpose only *once*. The taking-out of a little iron fencing, however (like the larger agricultural implements), must depend mainly on the agricultural emigrant's purse; but, if I were now going to New Zealand to purchase 300 or 500 acres of land for a regular arable and grazing farm, I should be much tempted to expend 100*l.* or so in strong iron hurdles. Messrs.

Richards and Co., 117, Bishopsgate, London, and Messrs. Hernulewicz, Main and Co., Glasgow, are the best and largest manufacturers of iron and wire fencing that I have been able to discover; and their prices of iron hurdles vary from 2*s*. 9*d*. to 3*s*. 6*d*. per yard. For fencing off portions of wild Bush land—say a dozen acres for browsing-ground, or wooded dells, or patches for cover, or belts for shade and shelter, &c., some stout galvanized ⅜-inch iron wire with strained bolts and staples would prove very useful. No posts would be necessary, and three or four rows of the wire-rod, stapled about every six feet to the stems of the trees, would make an excellent fence. Fenced lands increased in extent from 30,000 acres in 1851 to 230,000 acres in 1858, being an annual centesimal increase of nearly 100 per cent. If half this ratio of increase has been maintained for the last two years, the quantity of fenced land we now possess should amount to half a million of acres.

Roads and Farm Buildings.—Within a radius of from six to ten miles of the chief towns, the main roads are tolerably good; but the common bush-roads of the country are little better than rough cart tracks, thickly studded in wet weather with many a mud pit and "slough of despond;" and generally speaking we might say that the tractive power which would draw two tons in England, would not draw more than one in New Zealand. The local legislatures, however, are bestirring themselves in the matter; our roads and internal communications are fast improving; whilst from the peculiar configuration of the Islands, their long line of coast, their small interior, the number of their harbours and village-ports, nine-tenths of the agricultural produce of New Zealand, unlike that of the Australian and African Colonies, will seldom require a cartage of more than a few miles to convey it to some market of the district.

Most of the country or farm-houses are wooden buildings, of the one-story, verandah-cottage style. In this land of brick and stone, we are apt to picture a wooden cottage as being a poor, flimsy, band-box sort of dwelling. But in such a climate as New Zealand's, these cottages may be made very comfortable dwellings; whilst neatly painted, backed by trees or embowered in gardens, their verandahs covered with jessamine, rose, peach,

or vine, they often present an air of rustic elegance and sparkling beauty, to which many of the stuccoed villas, and "bell-and-brass-knocker" deformities of English streets and villages can make no possible pretensions.

A substantial verandah cottage, 32. feet square, containing, say, two front rooms 14 feet by 18, and two back rooms 14 by 14, with a kitchen detached (amply large enough for a family of half a dozen), might now cost from 150*l.* to 200*l.* Stone houses are occasionally erected where quarries are handy; but next to wood, cob houses, costing some third less than wood, and constructed of tempered layers of clay and straw, are generally seen in the rural districts. It is a common style of building in Devonshire; and in clayey localities, or where timber is scarce, as on the Canterbury plains, "cob" answers well. Wood, brick, and stone houses are generally covered with shingles (narrow wooden slates); cob buildings are generally thatched. "Raupo" cottages are frequently put up as temporary make-shift dwellings. These are post-and-pole buildings (constructed best by Natives), lined outside and inside, and thatched with bundles of the Raupo rush, ingeniously tied and bound together with strips of the Phormium tenax, the New Zealand flax. With a rustic verandah they are snug enough dwellings for three or four years, and cost from 20*l.* to 30*l.* "Slab" cottages, too, in timber districts, make excellent first dwellings; and the following letter from "Old Practical," one of the many correspondents of the Auckland newspapers, gives a good idea of the manner of making them. The "splitting" of the slabs, however, is often a more difficult job than "Old Practical" seems to have found it; and in districts where sawpits are abundant, the waste *sawn* slabs of the sawyers would prove far the best material: a bachelor's cottage of one room which I once knocked up in New Zealand, on the edge of the forest, of sawn rimu slabs, was one of the strongest, and, I flatter myself, one of the prettiest, little rustic dwellings ever seen in the Settlement.

Cheap Houses for New-comers.—(To the Editor of the *New Zealander*.)—Mr. Editor,—A little practical experience will be worth a deal of theorising. I will therefore give my own case in the building of a "*cheap habitation for a family*." Although

not a new-comer, I am comparatively a new settler in the Bush. I have for two years lived (not existed merely) in a *split slab house*, which cost me 20*l*., and in this same cottage or hut—myself, wife, and family—in all six of us—have lived really comfortably: seeing at times not a few visitors, and scarcely a week elapsing without our mustering, round a social fire of an evening, fifteen or sixteen friends and neighbours.

Now, how to proceed:—Go into the Bush with your axes, maul, and wedges—fell a rimu, totara, kaikatea, or kauri, as the case may be—cross-cut it into lengths of seven feet. Then, with your wedges, *quarter* these lengths, and split them into slabs of about ten or twelve inches wide and two inches in thickness; cut some good posts for the corners, stringers, wall-plates, and also ridge pole, rafters, and divisions. This is all the stuff you require, and up to this point, excepting your own labour, it has not cost you 1*s*. If you can get a few thousand shingles in the neighbourhood at 10*s*. or 12*s*. per thousand, do so—if not, thatch with nikau and rushes. A good slab chimney, six feet wide and four deep, is desirable: it should be, for about four feet high inside, piled up with stones. After a bit you can cut slabs, and put them down for a floor.

Now, if you are not able to do this yourself, there are plenty of men who will do it for 15*l*. to 20*l*., and a week or ten days will suffice to ensconce you in a *snug* and *comfortable*, although not *showy* or *elegant* habitation.

My own was originally 20 feet by 12 feet, but has now sundry additions, making in all six rooms; and in this house, humble though it be, I shall be contented to live yet a little longer.

Above all I say to the new-comer, "Do not spend your little capital in aiming to put up a fine house, and thus impoverish yourself, as many have done before, and perhaps never finished their houses. Build a good house when your farm will afford the means of your doing so; but a grand attempt at a fine house, with little to eat, or no comforts within, is a sorry look-out.—Old Practical.

As yet, farm buildings are very humble erections in New Zealand, and might well make a "Mechi" marvel. A small barn and granary, a potato-house, straw-yard, and implement shed, costing some 100*l*., would be made to suffice for a

mixed arable and grazing farm of from two to three hundred acres.

I may here hint to any little estate-creating emigrant reader, that he would find it a capital plan to provide himself with a few common tools, and to put up a little carpenter's shop among his outbuildings.

If this were done, he might lend a hand in the erection or gradual improvement of his house and premises; and on rainy days step into the shop and make door, gate, garden seat, wheelbarrow, or rocking-chair for his wife, or capacious cradle for the antipodal baby. I took lessons in carpentry before I went to New Zealand, and with a few tools, was enabled to make myself master-architect in the building of two cottages, and to execute all farm carpentry work which offered.

Blights. Insect and Animal Pests.—Rust, mildew, and other diseases, which frequently damage and sometimes destroy the farmer's crop, are comparatively unknown in New Zealand; and there is, perhaps, no country in the world where, the seed once sown, the harvest is so sure and certain. Partial failures of wheat have been experienced: these, however, have not, I think, been caused by any climatic blight, but by a long course of slovenly farming, aggravated by over-cropping and by a long repetition of the same crop and the same seed.

Such insect pests as the wire-worm, and the insect which is occasionally so destructive to the wheat crop in North America, the turnip fly, and the devouring locust, are all unknown in New Zealand. The only insect which can be called seriously injurious to the farmer, is the barley-caterpillar; but this is partial in its attacks, and seems to disappear as lands become well stirred and cropped. The introduction of rooks, sparrows, and finches, would, however, be attended with beneficial results in destroying the larvæ of this caterpillar, and in clearing off from our fields and gardens two or three other insects, which, though they do not seriously damage or emperil any crop, would, nevertheless, be better out of the way; and the efforts of Mr. Brodie, to introduce the sparrow into the Auckland country, entitle him to the thanks of his fellow-settlers.

There being no wild animals in New Zealand, farmers never

have their fields or gardens ravaged by marauding elephant, monkey or raccoon; and none of our birds, with the exception of the little parroquet, which will occasionally pilfer an ear or two of wheat, are in the least destructive to anything sown by man.

Rats are numerous; but with great discretion they evince a wholesome horror of cat and dog, and like Prior's country mouse, confining themselves principally to the Bush, banquet there in safety on the innumerable wild roots and berries which the Bush affords. Rats, and now mice, are found about the homesteads; but I never lost a bushel of wheat by them; and they are certainly not so much a "pest of the farm" in New Zealand, as in England.

Wheat.—Except where some arrant sloven has sought to grow it half-a-dozen times in succession, and almost grudged to plough up the stubble, wheat is a fine and certain crop. The white varieties are in the greatest request, and a sample of white wheat grown by my brother at New Plymouth, was allowed to be one of the finest ever seen in Mark Lane. On all new, "first-crop," lands, two bushels and a half per acre should be sown in May; on old farm lands, two bushels in June suffice; whilst on rich forest land (as far north as New Plymouth, at least) one bushel an acre has been sown with success as late as August. Wheat is generally sown in the old broad-cast fashion; but drilling, especially on first-crop fern lands, where the fern is apt to spring again, and has to be (or rather should be) hand-pulled, would be a great improvement. In the North Island, mid-harvest comes on about the middle of January: in Canterbury and Otago, a fortnight to three weeks later. Reaping machines are becoming common, and in many districts are let out by the owners to the neighbouring farmers. A yield of fifty or sixty bushels per acre is by no means uncommon; seventy has been obtained in Canterbury, and on one occasion nearly eighty on bush land, at New Plymouth, But these are mere exceptional cases, and the *average* yield of the general wheat crop of New Zealand cannot certainly be estimated at more than twenty or twenty-five bushels per acre. The reader, however, should remember that this is an average yield produced under the most unfavourable circumstances: rude and slovenly tillage, little or no manure, crop after crop till the land is exhausted, frequently

bad or carelessly prepared seed, and bad and wasteful harvesting and threshing. It is my opinion, and I believe the opinion of every practical man who has paid attention to agricultural matters, that if farming in New Zealand were carried on more in conformity with the first principles of English agriculture, the yield of wheat and of all our grain and root crops might be increased full thirty per cent. The breadth of land sown in wheat is at present about 20,000 acres, and the annual extension of the growth of this crop has been about twenty per cent.

BARLEY.—Owing partly to the ravages of a caterpillar, which seems particularly fond of barley, and partly to the circumstance of barley requiring a finer tillage, it has not, hitherto, proved quite so successful a crop in New Zealand as wheat. On fresh new lands, which are the most subject to the caterpillar, I should recommend a very early sowing of three bushels an acre in June; but on old lands, two bushels and a half in September. Nelson stands first in barley, and has produced some splendid samples of the Norfolk chevalier variety. The breadth of land sown in barley is at present about 5,000 acres, and the cultivation is increasing in about the same ratio as that of wheat.

OATS.—Best sown in August, at the rate of five bushels per acre. Canterbury and Otago, the latter, New Zealand's Scotland, have beaten all the Settlements in oats. Nearly one hundred bushels per acre of the black Tartarian variety have been obtained at Canterbury; and ninety bushels per acre of white oats have been reaped in the Tokomariro district at Otago off twenty-three acres which had been summer fallowed. In relative weight and positive fineness of sample, oats exceed barley and equal wheat; forty pounds per bushel is a common weight; and some Lincolnshire Polands, which I once grew on a piece of fern land, white as a hound's tooth, reached the extraordinary weight of nearly fifty pounds a bushel.*

* Frequent change of seed is good practice in New Zealand. Any emigrant coming to farm would do well to procure, among his agricultural friends, quart or bushel samples of any particular wheat, oats, barley, or grass seeds, for which their locality might be famous. All seeds should be put up (dry) in bags, and then be enclosed (dry) in some *zinc-lined* case or cask; or, as suggested in chapter on Outfit, carried as packing stuff in any furniture case.

The breadth of land at present sown in oats is about 20,000 acres; and as oats are the best maiden grain crop to take on new lands, and as they have generally commanded a higher proportionate price in Australia than wheat, the cultivation of this crop is, I think, increasing rather more rapidly than even that of wheat or barley.

MAIZE.—Grown by the natives in the north, in warm spots on bush land; but will not generally ripen as a common farm-field crop. Maize forms a good "climate index:" the summer and autumnal heats necessary to bring maize to perfection exceed the degree of temperate, and are semi-torrid, injurious or distressing. America, Africa, and Australia are maize countries —Devonshire, Van Diemen's Land, and New Zealand are not; and the climate, which will *nearly*, but not *quite* ripen this grain is a climate which in respect to *heat* will bring every British grain, grass, fruit, flower, and vegetable to full perfection, and which will prove salubrious and congenial to natives of the British Isles.

POTATOES.—Next to wheat, by far the most common crop in New Zealand. They are generally set in the North Island in September; but the Canterbury and Otago farmers prefer planting a month later. In my own small practice, moderate-sized sets of middle-sized tubers (ten to twelve hundredweight to the acre), the sets a foot apart, and the rows two feet and a half apart, have proved the best planting. The quality of potatoes is excellent: no indications of blight have yet been noticed, and the crop, though occasionally damaged by the caterpillars, may be called a fine and certain one. On common light soils, without manure, six to seven tons per acre is a fair yield; but twelve to fourteen tons have been obtained on bush land. A monster potato plant, growing in a cottager's garden at New Plymouth, where the soil was intermixed with the black iron-sand, is said to have produced nearly 200 tubers, of which 70 were of fair cooking size; and another growing at Kaipoi, Canterbury, produced 42 tubers, of the aggregate weight of sixteen pounds. The breadth of land planted in potatoes (exclusive of the native crop, which is a very large one) is at present about

7,000 acres; but the cultivation of potatoes is not so popular a branch of farming as it formerly was, and the annual increase of crop is considerably less than that exhibited in wheat and oats.

Turnips, carrots, parsnips, onions, and all root and vegetable crops, are very prolific in New Zealand, and of the finest quality. Thirty-five tons per acre of turnips is not an uncommon yield: specimens of the white Belgian carrot have been shown at the Canterbury horticultural show, weighing nine pounds; two rods of the bush soil, at New Plymouth, have actually produced forty hundredweight of the white Altringham carrot, equal to the almost incredible yield of 150 tons per acre; 300 lbs. of onions have been obtained from less than a rod of ground at the same place (nearly twenty-five tons per acre); and cabbages grown on bush soil have been cut weighing forty to fifty pounds each at Otago.

Tobacco.—The tobacco plant grows luxuriantly on bush land; patches of it are generally grown at the sheep stations, for the purpose of procuring the tobacco-wash used for sheep dipping; and there appears to be no reason why it should not eventually be raised for a crop, as in New South Wales. Its cultivation would be a branch of industry well suited to the Natives; and there is already a surprisingly large and increasing consumption of tobacco among both races: tobacco and cigars to the value of some 25,000*l.* being the present annual import for our mixed population of only 130,000 souls. As, however, the duty levied on tobacco (1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.) forms one of the principal items of the Customs' revenue, the Government would probably prohibit its general growth: the wiser course, though, would be to encourage its free cultivation and manufacture, and to meet the consequent deficiency in revenue by imposing a higher duty on spirits, and on articles of luxury, which could not be produced in the colony.

Hops.—A few acres of hops have been grown, chiefly at Nelson, and have answered remarkably well. The sort introduced, however, was one of inferior quality; and any agricultural emigrant proceeding out, at the right season, from an English hop county, should carry with him cuttings of the finest varieties of his district. The native women and children would

make capital hop-pickers, and poles are cheap and plentiful; whilst the facilities for brewing are so great that the home demand for hops may soon become extensive.

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HORTICULTURE AND SHRUBBERIES.—On this subject it must suffice to say that every vegetable, fruit, and flower which flourishes in the open air in Great Britain flourishes equally well in New Zealand; while some plants, such as the taro, sweet potato, standard peach, geranium (geranium hedges will grow eight feet high), and various delicate flowers which would not succeed in England, or which would there require the greenhouse in winter, flourish in New Zealand almost as luxuriantly as if they were indigenous to the soil.

All vegetables, growing quickly, have a most delicate flavour: peas, onions, potatoes, and beans, are, I think, unrivalled in quality; and I have seen as fine greengages at Nelson, and *almost* as fine ribston-pippins, cherries, and peaches in Auckland and New Plymouth, as I ever saw in Covent Garden. The grape succeeds moderately well as fruit; but nowhere, except perhaps in the extreme north, around Mouganui, and the Bay of Islands, do we find that steady continuance of dry autumnal heat necessary for the vineyard; and we shall never, I think, in New Zealand, pay honours to that jovial god who "first from out the purple grape crushed the sweet poison of misused wine."

Glancing at fruits and flowers, I may perhaps remark that bees bid fair to become rather a nuisance with us. They wax strong and fierce on the sugary sweets of the wild flax and the garden flowers. Wild swarms are being found in the bush: one hive in four years is said to have produced nearly a ton of honey, and lumps of honeycomb in every second baby's hand, tureens of limpid honey, and a diabolical compound, called metheglin, said to have been consumed largely by the Saxons, and to which may possibly be attributed their overthrow at Hastings, are cloying proofs of the power and progress of that obtrusive insect which strangely enough has been fixed on as the emblem of industry—industry carrying a sting!

Many of our wild shrubs, such as the laurel-like karaka, the veronica, the fern and ti tree, the perfumed manouka, the scarlet myrtle and giant fuchsia, the red and yellow parrot's bill, the

splendid clematis or virgin's bower, and various elegant creepers, are often introduced into our shrubberies and gardens with lustrous effect. Indeed, looking at the vigorous growth, the size and beauty of all English plants, fruits, and flowers, and at the profusion and beauty of these indigenous shrubs, I should imagine that New Zealand would prove almost a Garden of Eden to any enthusiastic landscape gardener, or ardent florist; and can easily conceive that if we could only persuade a Sir Joseph Paxton to go to New Zealand, our trees, shrubs, and flowers might well enchain him there. In a country boasting millions of acres of forest, and possessing a hundred varieties of forest trees, it may seem almost a joke to call for more; but in truth, the general introduction of some of the English trees would be very beneficial. There is no wheelwrights' wood in New Zealand equal to the ash, and no shipwrights' wood equal to the oak. Some English varieties are, however, needed far less for timber, than for shade and shelter, in the open plains. Our trees grow so thick in the green twilight of their dark, dank forests, are so lapped up with creepers, so protected by brushwood, so coated with grassy parasites, that they seem quite unable to bear up against the light and air of broad day on the breezy plains; and there are not, I think, three varieties which would stand and grow as hedgerow trees. On the great plains of the South Island, and even in many parts of the wooded North, belts of English trees, round the fields and homesteads, would be of great benefit to the farmer and grazier, and would much increase the beauty of the scenery.

The magnificent Norfolk Island pine, the blue gum of Australia, and various acacias which have been introduced from Africa, seem likely to flourish as well with us as in their own regions; whilst all the English trees we have tried grow vigorously and well. The ash, that supple Venus of the woods, and the elm, appear to delight in the New Zealand soil and climate; and the oak, beech, birch, poplar, weeping-willow, chestnut, larch, Scotch and silver fir, and the American white ash (fraxinus Americana), a much better wood than the common ash, would all probably succeed, and would all prove very valuable introductions. Seeds of all the common varieties of English trees may generally be had in autumn for the mere picking up;

if not, for a few shillings they may be obtained of any nursery-man; and I would advise every "estate-creating" emigrant to take a few with him—so that planting the English acorn he may one day behold the New Zealand oak.

SEMI-TROPICAL PLANTS WHICH ARE SUPPOSED TO FLOURISH IN NEW ZEALAND.—The ripening of any particular fruit or grain in New Zealand is not in itself, perhaps, a matter of much moment—but as the ripening of some particular fruit or grain in a new country often affords a good, popular "climatic test," I would, now that we are on the subject of farms and gardens, ask the reader's attention to a few remarks which may possibly disabuse him of certain erroneous impressions he may have formed as to the degree of *fruit-ripening heat* we experience in New Zealand. I have said before, in the chapter on climate, that such fruits as the loquate, olive and lemon, the orange, citron, and pomegranate, may ripen, more or less, in the beautiful peninsula described at page 129 as lying north of Auckland between the parallels of 34° and 37°; and I think it is just possible that, eventually, these and other foreign fruits may be produced by our horticulturists of the north in fair quantity and perfection. But the reader must remember that this warm peninsula is but a small portion of New Zealand, bearing about the same relation in size and climate to South Britain as a magnified Cornwall might do to England: these semi-tropical fruits might ripen there; but they would certainly ripen nowhere else; and, assuredly, when the Wellington or Canterbury colonist wants an orange he will have to import it. Again, considerable misconception as to the general climate of New Zealand has arisen through some silly or imperfect statements, made by two writers who ought to have been better informed, as to the growth of "*Maize*" and "*Bananas*" in New Zealand.

Messrs. Chambers, in one of their popular publications, state that "*The banana and other fruits of an oriental character form immense orchards in New Zealand;*" whilst in a late publication by a Mr. Stones, called "New Zealand the Land of Promise," the author tells us he has heard "that another remarkable peculiarity consequent on climate, is the fact that potatoes and maize flourish side by side;" and in another place he informs us that

the New Plymouth farms are "rich in oats, and wheat and *maize*."

Now as to "*Bananas*," there are, I think, three little exotic plants in the horticultural gardens at Auckland, and there may be three more in other corners of the hotter north; but Bananas no more flourish in New Zealand than cocoa-nuts do in Kent. The Banana, indeed, is a fruit matured only under a fierce sun; even in the oven of Sydney it does not flourish; and the best Bananas eaten in Sydney are grown at Moreton Bay, in latitude 27°, a place hotter than even the hottest province of New Zealand by no less than ten degrees of latitude. As to *Maize*, it certainly is grown in New Zealand; but without some qualifying remark it is not virtually correct to say that "maize and potatoes flourish side by side in New Zealand," inasmuch as in by far the largest portion of New Zealand maize does not flourish at all. The myrtle, I believe, grows luxuriantly in South Devonshire; but surely on the strength of this, if we were describing the English climate to a foreigner, we should not be justified in speaking of it in such a way as would lead him to imagine that the myrtle was just as common and vigorous a plant in the shrubberies of Great Britain as the fir and the laurel. In Maori gardens, and in sheltered nooks and sunny valleys, where the soil is rich and warm, the natives succeed in raising considerable quantities of maize, especially in the northern half of the North Island; but, as before observed, maize, as an ordinary farm crop like potatoes, is not generally grown in New Zealand. Under the common field cultivation of the farmer, it would come to little or no greater perfection in the great central and southern portions of New Zealand than it would in the south of England; and it is found on the farms of New Plymouth much as indigo is found on the farms of Norfolk. Under the best cultivation, and on the richest soil it was tried at New Plymouth by myself and some of my brother farmers for three years in succession, and only ripened one autumn out of the three; whilst in the last "Agricultural Returns" in which maize is noticed at all, there were but twenty-seven acres of it grown in the whole of the Nelson province, but ten in Wellington, but two in Canterbury, and not one in Otago.

These remarks are not made in any hypercritical or carping

spirit: both Messrs. Chambers and Mr. Stones have disseminated a great deal of useful information about New Zealand, and as a colonist I am obliged to them for the service they have rendered us. But the statements that immense banana orchards are found in New Zealand, and that maize is as commonly grown as potatoes, are statements calculated to damage our emigrationary interests, inasmuch as it is by no means improbable that if any retired Indian or invalid emigrant, whose chief object in emigrating was to get to some cooler or more bracing climate, were to hear that semi-tropical plants like bananas and Indian corn were generally grown in New Zealand, he might well pause ere he *went* to New Zealand.

I trust, therefore, that in any future issue of their work, Messrs. Chambers will utterly uproot their "immense banana orchards," and Mr. Stones* prune down his maize; and whilst telling the public that it is a grain grown in New Zealand, will also tell us that it is a grain which, fortunately for all of us who like a temperate climate, will only come to full and sure perfection in certain *parts* and *portions* of New Zealand.

Farm Pastures.—The soil and climate of New Zealand are equally as good for grass as for grain. Near Auckland, 100 acres of the Tamaki meadows have carried nearly 100 head of cattle through the year, many of them fat for the butcher. At New Plymouth, incredible as it may seem, thirty-five acres of fern land, laid down in grass, have been known to carry nearly 300 sheep throughout the year; whilst bush land, after bearing four heavy wheat crops in succession, has been sown with grass in March, and afforded a good bite for cattle in May. Indeed, sufficient has been seen of the luxuriance of artificial pastures, to show that our ordinary lands, laid down in grass, are quite

* Mr. Stones' useful little pamphlet is a reprint of a paper he read before the Society of Arts, which learned body very properly awarded him a medal for it. The pamphlet has ever since been advertised as the "Prize Essay on New Zealand;" and the author will, I am sure, permit me to remind him that "noblesse oblige," and that a "Prize Essay" is bound to be almost a scrupulously *correct* essay: the proportions of the humble pig, confining himself to the obscurity of his rustic sty, may pass unchallenged; but, should he suffer himself to be led forth into cities to be exhibited before men and butchers as a *prize* pig, the knife of criticism soon probes his merits.

equal to the grazing of four sheep per acre throughout the year; and Mr. Weld, one of our largest graziers, is quite correct in saying, in his late admirable pamphlet on New Zealand "Sheep-farming," that "there is a good deal of land in New Zealand which, when grassed and fenced, will keep eight sheep an acre all the year round, and be proportionately good for cattle."

Grass seeds, for permanent pastures, are, I think, best sown in our autumnal March. Grass seeds (and the observation applies to all seeds in New Zealand) cannot be covered too lightly. Twenty-five pounds per acre is, perhaps, a sufficient sowing, and the following has been a common mixture:—

| | lbs. |
|---|---|
| Pacey's perennial rye grass (1 bushel) | 18 |
| White clover | 3 |
| Red clover | 3 |
| | 25 |

I should, however, prefer a much greater variety of grasses, and in laying down new wild land, would try some such mixture as the following:—

| | lbs. |
|---|---|
| 1. Pacey's perennial rye grass | 5 |
| 2. „ Italian rye grass | 2 |
| 3. White clover | 4 |
| 4. Perennial red clover | 2 |
| 5. Red suckling | 2 |
| 6. Sheep's fescue (Festuca ovina) | 2 |
| 7. Meadow fescue (Festuca pratensis) | 1 |
| 8. Red fescue (Festuca rubra) | 1 |
| 9. Smooth-stalked meadow grass (Poa pratensis) | 1 |
| 10. Cocksfoot and foxtail | 2 |
| 11. Trefoil, lucerne, and parsley | 2 |
| 12. Sweet vernal and Avena flavescens | 1 |
| | 25 |

This mixture, or any other, may be obtained of Messrs. Gibbs and Co., Half Moon-street, Piccadilly, London, Seedsmen to the Royal Agricultural Society, properly packed for the voyage in a zinc-lined cask, at the rate I think of about 30*s.* per acre;

and emigrants who intend to embark in agricultural and grazing pursuits, would do well to provide seeds for a few acres—for grass seeds, owing to the increasing demand, are dear in New Zealand, and some of the excellent varieties here enumerated could not yet be obtained in the colony, genuine and pure.

Grass has generally been sown on old, crop-exhausted, arable lands, or on new lands ploughed up on purpose; but experience shows that in some localities the expense of breaking up new lands for grass seeds might frequently be saved. Some of the richest pastures at Auckland are those where the cultivator has merely burnt off the indigenous vegetation, scattered the seed on the rough unbroken surface, and then rudely harrowed it in.* Indeed, from what I have remarked with reference to the germination of wheat, I am inclined to think that if the seed were steeped, and advantage taken of showery weather, even the single operation of harrowing in might frequently be dispensed with, especially if a flock of sheep or herd of cattle were driven two or three times across the sowing, so as to fray the surface, and tread the seed down a little. However, be this as it may, there are millions of acres of wild fern and grass lands in New Zealand which might be converted into permanent pastures, equal to the grazing of four or five sheep per acre, at a cost, in labour, of not more than 1*l.* per acre, expended, say, in burning off patches and portions of the indigenous vegetation, in scattering the seed on the partially charred surface, and then in cross-dragging a strong harrow over the surface.

The annual increase in the breadth of land sown down in grass is very remarkable. In 1851 there were but 16,000 acres in grass—in 1858 there were nearly 100,000 acres: an annual centesimal increase of some 75 per cent. Thus, it would appear

* Grass seed is sown and harrowed in with two strokes of a light harrow, immediately after which it is rolled, and within four months there is a considerable herbage on which sheep or young cattle are turned to graze, where they are kept until the end of September. When hay is wanted, they are then withdrawn for three months, and by the 1st of December there is a heavy sward of hay; and as soon as that is cut, made, and stacked, the field is again fit for turning cattle on, until the following September, and so on for many consecutive years; the same rotation of alternate grazing and hay-making following without intermission.—*Canterbury Farm Calendar.*

that grazing is so much more profitable or popular a branch of New Zealand farming that, in the general agricultural progress of the country, where every year there is one additional acre put into *grain* crops there are nearly four additional acres laid down in *grass*. The present area and extent of our farm pasture lands may, perhaps, be roughly estimated at nearly a quarter of a million acres.

SHEEP.—Wool, ranking with cotton, silk, hemp, and flax, is one of the great textile staples of commerce. Great Britain imports it to the value of some seven millions sterling a year; and, after supplying the wants of her own population of thirty millions of people, exports woollen fabrics to the value of nearly ten millions sterling a year.*

In natural advantages, constituting a perfect "habitat" for the sheep, there is perhaps no country in either hemisphere superior to New Zealand. The surface for the most part is

* The following table shows the countries from which, up to ten years ago, except in regard to New Zealand, we obtained our greatest supplies; and displays the extraordinary alterations which have taken place in regard to the relative productiveness of our *sources* of supply:—

| | 1815. | 1849. |
|---|---|---|
| Spain | 4,937 438 | 127,559 lbs. |
| Germany | 3,137,438 | 12,759,011 „ |
| Australia | 73,171 | 35,870,171 „ |
| Cape of Good Hope | 23,363 | 5,377,495 „ |
| East Indies | —— | 4,182 853 „ |
| | In 1854. | In 1860. |
| New Zealand | 140,000 | 6,000,000 „ |

The declared value of the woollen manufactures exported was—

| | |
|---|---|
| In 1789 | £3,554,160 |
| 1829 | 5,372,490 |
| 1847 | 7,897,402 |

Thus a greatly progressing trade has been going on during the present century. In England the woollen manufactures will always be intimately bound up with its pastoral character. Though dependent, as will be seen, on foreign countries for a large amount of the raw material, it still derives a great mass from our own country; and the paying character of sheep, both directly and indirectly, will have a great tendency to keep up the mutual dependence and reciprocity between the wool grower and the manufacturer. The present extraordinary rage for cheapness is amongst the most wonderful tendencies of the age. It is inducing the English manufacturer to make up fabrics mixed with calico, and to work up wool dust, which will not redound to his credit or his high rank in foreign lands."—*Milburn.*

hilly or undulating; the soil is light, percolative, and freely impregnated with all congenial oxides, sulphates and phosphates;* the climate is the happy mean of temperature and moisture; no destructive animal exists,† and there is perpetual natural pasturage with a profusion of the finest water:—a rare *combination* of natural gifts, creating marked exemption from disease, great prolificness, fat and early mutton, fine wool, and heavy fleece.

The sheep farmers and shepherd princes of Australia are justly reputed such high authority in all matters of their craft, that I shall commence my remarks on the Sheep, by quoting the following testimony of an Australian as to the natural fitness of New Zealand for the growth of the "golden fleece." The

* "Wool itself is a very remarkable combination. It contains 98 per cent. of organic elements, and 2 per cent. of ash. The former consists of:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Carbon | 50·65 |
| Hydrogen | 7·03 |
| Nitrogen | 17·71 |
| Oxygen, Sulphur | 24·61 |
| | 100·00 |

"The ash contains oxide of iron, sulphate of lime, phosphates of lime and magnesia; so that the sulphur is a very important element in the composition of wool. Some close statistical calculations have been made, which show that in the United Kingdom as many as five millions of pounds of sulphur are annually abstracted from the soil by the sheep. It is evident, therefore, that in order to have healthy animals, and a full produce of wool, there must be in the soil a good supply of sulphur, nitrogen, potash, and phosphorus; or the land will not enable the animal to secrete wool in perfection."—*Milburn on the Sheep.*

"The New Zealand soil abounds in these things, particularly in sulphur, potash, and oxide of iron."—*Hursthouse.*

† The native dog, described at page 81, will, occasionally, make a night foray on a flock. But this animal is found only in certain districts. It is easily destroyed, and more sheep, probably, are worried by dogs in England than in New Zealand. Here and there, too, on certain runs, lambs are occasionally devoured by the wild pig; but here, again, we may say that more lambs are killed by fox and eagle on the Highland hills than are killed by pigs with us. The eagle is becoming extinct in the Highlands, but foxes are still abundant, and destroy many a lamb. The other week, on the Ballater Hills, below Montkeen, I succeeded, in the long heather, in running down and catching a fine young fox unhurt; and the next day, taking up the keeper and my old friend Leslie in search of the other cubs, we found two or three of their larder-lairs strewn with bones and feathers, and many a remnant of kid and lamb, black game and grouse.

gentleman who gives it is an eminently practical man: a thriving Australian Squatter, whom I had the pleasure of meeting when last in New Zealand; and who, tempted mainly by our better climate and society, purposes some day to follow the example of many of his brother Australians, and move over his flocks to the Plains of Canterbury, or to some new Dumfriesshire of Otago.

"*Tinwald Downs, Dumfriesshire.*

"Dear Hursthouse,—You ask me to give you my impression of New Zealand, and more particularly of the Canterbury Province, as a grazing country. I comply with pleasure; but you must bear in mind that my present experience of New Zealand is merely that of a visitor. You must not look upon my remarks, therefore, as infallible dogmas, but as the opinions of an Australian Squatter, paying a visit to New Zealand for the purpose of judging whether he could make an advantageous exchange form one colony to the other—*a visit which has resulted in his determination to remove from New South Wales to Canterbury, or possibly to Otago.*

"Before visiting New Zealand, I sometimes heard it spoken of as a country in which sheep and their owners throve; but accustomed as I was to our dry Australian climate, I could not comprehend how sheep could do well in a country possessing such a wet climate as common report ascribed to New Zealand. On my arrival there, however, I soon saw that I had been labouring under a wrong impression; for although a great deal of rain falls in your country, the land generally is so well drained (naturally), and possesses such a porous substratum, that water cannot remain on the surface for any length of time. The excellent condition, too, of all the stock I saw, convinced me that there was something in the pasturage which did not meet the eye, peculiarly favourable to domestic animals. Australian Squatters will readily understand what is meant by this observation; for on the one hand, they must all have seen in Australia, very fat stock on inferior-looking country; and on the other hand, districts where, though the grass was always beautifully green and luxuriant, no animal could be made fat. This remark, as to the condition of the stock, applies to all the Provinces I visited, namely, Canterbury, Nelson, Wellington, Taranaki,

and Auckland. At Nelson I certainly saw inferior mutton exposed in the butchers' shops; but this was explained by the circumstance of the wethers having been driven from the Wairau, over a very rough and mountainous road. At all other places the meat I saw on the table, and in the butchers' shops, was of excellent quality. Canterbury consists principally of an immense plain containing about three millions of acres, covered with natural pasturage of an excellent description. It is abundantly watered by streams, issuing from the mountains, but is deficient in timber; or rather what wood there is, is not well dispersed; for I think there is plenty for all practical purposes, if it were only more spread about. The whole plain is available for depasturing sheep and cattle, except a strip along the sea (extending back a few miles), which is adapted for cattle only; but this is first-rate agricultural land. To the north of the great Plain there is a tract of country, about five hundred thousand acres in extent, chiefly of a limestone formation, and consisting of ridges and low spurs, extending from the mountains to the sea, and well adapted for sheep; and at the southern end of the plain, there is another piece of country also available for sheep, consisting of ridges, low downs, and small plains.

"I visited several stations in the northern portion of the Plains, and met with gentlemen of experience in sheep-farming from Port Phillip, who gave me much useful information relative to the pastoral qualities of the Province. They all agreed that sheep-farming could be carried on with more profit and much less trouble than in Victoria. In the most favoured localities of that Colony, three men (two shepherds and a watchman) are required for four thousand sheep; and in many districts the same number of sheep require six men; while on the Canterbury Plains, that number of sheep can easily be attended to by one man, at all times except lambing time, when extra men are required everywhere. In Australia, the sheep are followed by the shepherd from morning till night, and require constant watching to prevent havoc by native dogs. At Canterbury, there being no noxious animals, the only mischief to be apprehended is the mixing with a neighbour flock, and this, as yet, is not a difficult matter to prevent, though it will of

course be more liable to occur when the runs become fully stocked. At the stations I visited, the sheep were looked after by boys, who went out once or twice a day to see that all was right; and who were employed at other work during their spare time. In some cases the boys went on horseback, and I think this is likely to become the custom, as much trouble is saved by the superior range of vision afforded by the elevation. Glasses are also used, and are of great assistance in distinguishing the sheep among the long grass.

"The greatest drawback to the Plains is the want of shelter in the strong gales, 'southerly bursters,' which occasionally occur; but as the country becomes older, shelter in the shape of hedges and plantations will be provided by the more prudent flockmasters. The whin or gorse is well adapted for this purpose, as it thrives in the country, and is of rapid growth. Another drawback is the plant called 'tutu' or 'toot,' which appears to be universal over New Zealand. If eaten by sheep or cattle with empty stomachs, it acts in a similar manner to green clover, and sometimes causes death; but if partaken of sparingly, and with grass, it is said to possess highly fattening qualities. None of the graziers, however, except one, with whom I conversed on the subject, seemed to consider toot worth notice, so it is scarcely worth while putting it down as a disadvantage; especially as it is rapidly disappearing in the older-settled districts, and will doubtless soon disappear here.

"Of common sheep diseases, the Province may be said to be quite free, and there are none peculiar to the country. On some of the runs where the soil is rich, they have occasionally a little foot-rot after a heavy fall of rain. Scab was introduced by some of the imported flocks; but is now being gradually eradicated, and I think there is little chance of its recurrence to any serious extent, if the excellent laws on the subject, passed by the Provincial Council, are effectively carried out.

"With respect to the capabilities of the country for carrying stock, the graziers seem to consider that, in its natural state, two acres are requisite for the maintenance of a sheep. The pasture can be very much improved by sowing clover and grass seeds, which grow without any preparation of the soil.

An energetic settler may therefore soon have his whole run covered with artificial pasturage at a trifling cost, and thus treble or quadruple its capabilities.

"As a wool-growing country, the whole of New Zealand ranks high, although generally the wool has been sent to market in a very rough state, and consequently sold at apparently low prices. *It possesses a peculiar softness, which is prized by manufacturers; and is much longer in the staple than the wool of similar sheep in Australia.* In Canterbury the sheep are principally of the Merino breed (the original stocks having been imported from Sydney and Melbourne), and the average weight of fleece may be set down at 3¼lbs.—about a pound more than the Australian average. I heard 3½ and 4lbs. spoken of as the average; but allowing half a pound for grease and dirt, which might have been removed by a little more care in washing, I am of opinion that 3¼lbs. will be found to be nearer the mark.* Most of the runs possess great facilities for washing the sheep and getting the wool up well; but the scarcity of labour has prevented the runholders from taking the pains they otherwise would have done; and consequently the wool has always brought from 1*d.* to 3*d.* per pound less than it should have done.

"The wethers attain a weight of sixty pounds at two years, and are generally sold to the butcher at that age; but in my opinion, as long as a run is not fully stocked, it would be more profitable for the grazier to keep them another year: the wool and additional weight of mutton would afford a high rate of interest for the value of the sheep; the expenses of the station would be very little increased by keeping them another year, and the grass which they consume would otherwise be wasted.

"In a country like New Zealand, where all stock increases so quickly, it becomes a question whether there will always be a meat market for the fat stock without resorting to the wasteful practice of 'boiling down.' I conceive that for some years at least there will be; for, as New Zealand appears likely to become the favourite emigration field of the day, we may reasonably expect that there will be a continual demand for breeding-

* Here, our Australian friend is scarcely liberal enough. I think, with Mr. Weld, that a well-bred flock of Merinoes, on a good run, would give an average clip of fully 4 lbs.

stock, and that port and city populations will arise to consume the mutton of the hills and plains. At present, there is a good market for butcher meat in Auckland and Wellington; and the various provincial towns; and should fat stock eventually increase to such an extent that 'boiling down' must be resorted to, you may console yourselves with the reflection that 'fat stock' in New Zealand *is* fat stock, and that your tallow will produce you a goodly annual income.

"So much for sheep and shepherds. Provoking to relate, I, an old Squatter, half my life in the saddle, and used to chasing wild cattle over countries where no fox would be fool enough to go, took a gallop with our hounds the other day, got a fall and came home with fractured leg: this, keeping me in doors, makes writing an amusement, and hence the long letter which you get.

"I wonder where 'La Lucie' is, and whether Dieppe has recovered from the excitement of our arrival?* My mother-in-law and wife are well; and your old friend Jamie strong and hearty as an infant Squatter ought to be.

"I am, dear Hursthouse,

"Yours truly,

"ROBERT WILKIN."

NUMBERS AND BREED OF SHEEP.—The entire flock of New Zealand may now be estimated at 2,000,000, and the value of the wool export for the year 1860 may, I think, be put down at £350,000. The nett annual increase of the whole flock may, perhaps, be taken at 33 per cent.; at which ratio the flock doubles itself every three years. A fourth of this "germ flock" may have been brought over from Australia, the remainder has been bred in the colony.

Nine-tenths of our sheep are of the Australian Merino variety, gradually improving through the importation of pure Saxon Merino rams from Germany and the continent. The best sheep we can boast, at present, is an animal weighing some 65 lbs.

* I may remark that this gentleman and his family coming to Scotland on a visit to their friends, were fellow-passengers of mine from Sydney to Dieppe in "La Lucie," a beautiful Dieppe-built clipper, and the first vessel of that port which ever made a voyage to Australia for wool. Two other French ships were loading wool at Sidney about the time of our departure.

and clipping 4 lbs. of fine wool; but, looking at the extraordinary improvements to be effected by judicious breeding, and at our soil, climate, and washing facilities, I believe it to be quite possible that we may eventually produce a pure New Zealand Merino, which shall weigh 80 lbs., and which shall annually clip a 5 lb. fleece, worth 2s. a lb.* Indeed, the effects of careful breeding are already becoming evident in a manner highly flattering to our flock-masters: a Mr. Rich, an eminent grazier, near Auckland, has frequently obtained high prices for his rams for exportation to Australia; and on a visit which he lately paid to Europe, in order to inspect the finest flocks of the continent, some samples of his Auckland wool were so highly prized by Baron Damier, Superintendent of the Imperial French Merino flock at Rambouillet, that it is reported the Baron requested Mr. Rich to send him a few of his Auckland rams in order to improve even the famous "Rambouillet Flock."

A few Cotswold, Cheviot, South-Down, Leicester, and Romney-Marsh sheep, have been brought out by agricultural emigrants who have come from the counties in which these breeds are esteemed the best, and who, ignorant alike of the great object of New Zealand sheep-farming, and of the merits of the Merino, have from boyhood, believed that their local English varieties were the plus ultra of perfection.

But it is well observed in the interesting letters from a New Zealand flock-master, and from an eminent English woolstapler, given in the first edition of this work—and which, if space permits, will be given in an Appendix to this—that the true end and aim of New Zealand graziers should be not to produce meat or tallow, or short clothing wool, but to produce the very finest possible fleece of "*combing*" wool. To enable us to do this, there is no sheep, in inherent qualities and in general capabilities of improvement, half so good to begin with as the pure Merino;

* I think our New Zealand wool-growers may calculate on steady high prices for wool of that fine long *combing* sort which they are so well able to produce. We have to remember that, with the increasing meat-eating populations of Great Britain, Germany, and France, the aim of the Old World grazier must be more and more to produce fine and early mutton, even at the cost of getting a poor fleece; and I believe that, for the future, New Zealand wools will year by year become more valuable and sought after.

and Cotswolds and Cheviots, and Leicesters, and Downs, whether viewed as animals to be kept up as a distinct breed, or as animals to propagate some mongrel cross, are not, I fancy, likely to prove the right sheep in the right place in New Zealand.

Though, however, the improved Merino may long or ever remain "Ovine King" of New Zealand, it is not, I think, improbable that, ere long, he may have to surrender some lowland portions of his wide domain to a sheep of less regal pretensions—one whose fleece though not of the finest, is yet one of the biggest and the best. I allude to the heavy long-woolled Lincolnshire sheep, that goodly animal grazing on the rich old pastures of Holland and Kesteven, clipping a 12 lb. fleece, and weighing the tenth of a ton. Milburn gives the following correct account of my old fen friend:—"The animal appears to be of a somewhat unshapely form, taking the standard of connoisseur taste as a criterion; but when the valued wool covers him, the whole of his imperfections are hid.' *He is one living square of wool, ranging from fifteen to eighteen inches long; and more wool is clipped from the Lincolnshire sheep than from any English sheep whatever. The fleece varies from the enormous weight of* 12 *to* 14 *lbs., which, when it sells for* 15*d. or* 18*d. per lb., is equal to the value of the whole carcass of some of the smaller breeds of sheep.* Nor are they far behind in mutton. The wether will weigh from 30 to 35 lbs. per quarter, sinking the offal, or a nett weight of mutton per sheep of 140 lbs. A wether killed at Grantham, one of an equal lot of twenty-seven, clipped 17 lbs. of wool, and weighed almost 308 lbs. The sheep are always sold at two shear, and the united clip—the one made as a shearling and the other at two years old—will often average from 20 to 25 lbs. When fatted to the utmost extent, remarkable specimens are on record. A wether killed at Holbeach Marsh weighed 300 lbs.; a ewe from Long Sutton, at the Smithfield Club Show, when killed, weighed 262 lbs. in 1846. These instances are given to show the capabilities of these large-framed sheep—not, perhaps, adapted to all localities, but remarkably productive of wool and mutton. Take, for instance, a choice specimen—assume him to be two shear, and his whole produce will be little short of a small cow.

| | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Two fleeces of wool, 24 lbs., at 1s. 3d. . . | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| Carcass, say 250 lbs., at 5*d*. . . . . | 5 | 4 | 2 |
| Total . . . . | £6 | 14 | 2 |

"When greater prices prevailed, of course the produce of the animal was more; but enough has been said to show that the Lincolnshire sheep, when the least removed from its original stock, is an animal wonderfully remunerative, in the shape of wool and mutton."—*Milburn on the Sheep.*

The reasons why an animal yielding such a mountain of meat and wool is confined to a mere portion of one English county are twofold. In the first place, the great object of the English grazier is to produce fine and early mutton; and the Lincolnshire sheep, though the meat is well flavoured, is, nevertheless, somewhat too fat and coarse an animal to supply the butcher with those fine saddles, prime haunches, and dainty legs, which the fastidious taste of the butchers' customers now, every day, more and more require.* But there is yet another and a more potent reason why the Lincoln sheep is confined to Lincolnshire, and that is because no other county is rich enough to graze him. *Showing* his keep like a portly alderman, he must *have* the keep of a portly alderman; he is not much of a root feeder; he would rather turn up his nose at a turnip; he will trifle with mangold, and amuse himself with rape, but he is eminently a grazing sheep; and grass, rich pasture grass, rich old Lincolnshire pasture grass, is the only provender which will make him fat and happy. Transport him to the hills of Cumberland or

* "Fat mutton had once a wider range of admirers than at present. The fattest animals were the best. A dish of potatoes was placed in the common oven, and over it the fat loin of a Lincoln or Leicestershire sheep. This made a great mass of gravy. The master of the house dined off the meat, while his servants fared on the delicious and saturated potatoes. But at the present time luxury has almost banished fat mutton even from the tables of the mechanic and the manufacturing operative. The Southdown and the Highland Scot, the Cheviot and the half-bred (small in joint and full of flavour, with less fat), seem to be the kind of sheep which the spread of luxury and epicurianism demands, even in the manufacturing districts of the country; and, therefore, the old tendencies of breeders to produce a big fat animal are being altogether reversed."

Sussex, expect him to move about and pick up his living like vagrant Down or Cheviot, and he would become a bag of bones, a moving, yet stationary, memento of past pastures, a scandal to his race and county.

Now in New Zealand we have the very converse of those conditions which, in England, confine the Lincoln sheep to Lincolnshire. The New Zealand grazier wants wool and tallow for the export merchant—not meat, or fine meat, for the butcher; and the Lincoln sheep gives him almost double the quantity of wool which he can obtain from any other breed whatever. Nor is it wool of inferior quality. It is good long wool; and long wool is every year becoming an article more in demand by the manufacturer than short wool. Again, though my Lincolnshire friends in the Fen may smile at the notion, I venture to tell them that we have field pastures in New Zealand almost, if not quite, equal to any they can boast in Holbeach Marsh, Long Sutton, or Parson Drone,* pastures which we can multiply to a very large extent, and which, I think, would give fat content to any Lincolnshire sheep put on them. But it is not only that we have grass rich enough for this animal—we have a size of field, and a mode of farming which he loves. Like the Teeswater, the Lincolnshire sheep, in his purest state, is, for the most part, found in small flocks, grazing in small lots in small fields: a hundred or two, with a dozen bullocks, in one field; a score or two, with a horse and a cow, in another. This is the field he would find, and the company he would keep, in New Zealand. In the little hundred-acre bush-grass farms of the north, in the small corn and grazing farms of Taranaki, Canterbury, and Otago, the paddocks are generally small, and it would be a great gain to the farmer to have two or three score, or a hundred or two, of sheep of some quiet, placid sort, which would respect his slight fences, and graze kindly with his other stock—sheep, too, which would now and then eat him off a piece of rape or mangold, and so double his corn crop; and which every year would clip him a ten-pound

* Not so rich and good in fine spring and early summer, when these pastures will carry ten sheep to the acre, but better in autumn and winter: more equal in feed throughout the year.

fleece of a length and staple that would make Huddersfield rejoice and Bradford glad.

Whether large portions of the New Zealand wilderness be kept, ever, in their pristine state, and be grazed over, as now, on the present "squatting system;" or whether this system will, by degrees, be generally abandoned, and the Runs be converted into large grazing estates, as I have suggested in Chap. 16, is a question on which there may be some difference of opinion. But in either case, whether it be wild pasture, or grass-sown pasture, there will always be, in New Zealand, large tracts of pastoral country, of hills and plains and downs, where a light sheep, of active habits and fine fleece, like the improved *Merino*, must ever be the best sheep; and as population increases, and fine and early mutton becomes a desideratum, there may be large open pasture fields, and good chalky downs, and improved uplands in both islands, on which the *South Down* would prove a good animal. But for the rich valleys and bottom lands spread over the country from north to south, where in a few years we shall find thousands of little mixed farms, of from eighty to a couple of hundred acres, there is, I think, no sheep so worthy of our attention as the *Lincolnshire sheep;* and I hold it to be by no means impossible that just as we might produce on our Uplands a standard New Zealand *Merino*, weighing eighty pounds, and clipping a five-pound fleece of combing wool, worth 2*s.* a pound; so we might produce on our Lowlands a standard New Zealand *Lincoln* weighing 150 lbs., and clipping a ten or twelve pound fleece of combing wool, worth 1*s.* 6*d.* per pound.

Lambing and Shearing.—On this subject I shall quote the words of Mr. Weld, in the third edition of his pamphlet on "New Zealand Sheep Farming;"—a little publication ably conceived, well written, and the work of a most honest and practical man (a cadet, too, of one of our old English families), which should be in the hands of every emigrant who looks to producing the "golden fleece."

"The preferable time for lambing is our autumn, April being a very good month. I would commence, say on the 20th of

March, when the lambing would close early in May. The advantages of this season are manifold. The lambing does not interfere with the shearing, as when it takes place in spring. The weather is generally more favourable in autumn than at any other time. The heats of summer are over, and the fresh autumn grass insures a plentiful supply of milk, and keeps up the condition of the ewes. On the other hand, the lambs are weaned on the early spring grass, and have good fleeces by shearing-time; whilst their mothers do not lose the belly wool, as they would do by lambing in spring, when their wool is long, and the heat of the body renders it liable to peel off. But notwithstanding these advantages in favour of autumn lambing, it cannot in all places be adopted. In some parts of New Zealand the winters are cold and damp, and the supply of food, consequently, is scarcely sufficient to enable the ewe to suckle a winter lamb without injury to herself. In these cases the spring lambing must be adopted. About a week after the lambing is finished, the operations of castration, tailing, and ear-marking are performed. Losses at the period of castration are very rare in New Zealand, even in the case of full-grown animals. You will now keep a sufficient number of ram lambs to enable you to reject such as may not grow up of the desired quality. Weaning, under the system of autumn lambing, will take place in the latter part of the month of August. Look over the ram lambs to reject any that are inferior. Place your newly-weaned flock on good feed. They will require constant supervision until they become accustomed to their 'run,' and to one another. You will put the rams to the ewes about the 20th of October, selecting choice ewes to put to such rams as you may wish to breed from for ram lambs. Never forget the necessity of periodical infusion of fresh blood into your flocks. It is incredible how soon a flock deteriorates after 'breeding in' has been carried beyond a certain point.

"Shearing-time comes next in the list. It commences in some districts in October, in others not till December. The early shearing, where practicable, is decidedly to be preferred. The wool is frequently injured by the dust of summer; and, moreover, the condition of the animal is often affected by the heat if

the heavy fleece is allowed to remain on till late in the summer."

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DISEASES—INCREASE.—Of the three fatal epidemics which so reduce the profits of sheep-farming in Australia—catarrh, rot, and scab—the latter, only, is known in New Zealand. It was introduced by some of the Australian importations; but is now disappearing, or is kept well under through the beneficial operation of the various local "Scab Acts," and through the greater care which flock-masters now display in eradicating the first symptoms of the infection. Foot-rot and the various minor diseases to which the animal is subject in England are of rare occurrence;* and a flock of New Zealand merinos generally presents an appearance of bright-looking plumpness and robust health, indicating both fine wool and mutton, and verging even on the picturesque.

"On my way to Paratanga I had a most satisfactory sight in inspecting a beautiful flock of merino ewes, from two to three thousand, just ready to lamb. They were, as the phrase goes, rolling in fat; and had been in the neighbourhood about two or three years. Here, too, I may mention an astonishing fact which I heard in Wellington concerning the unprecedented weight of loose fat taken from the inside of 100 wether sheep of cross breed averaging 30 lbs. of fat each. This has nothing to do with the kidney fat. The average weight of the carcasses of these sheep, 103 lbs., is nothing extraordinary; but the loose fat, 30 lbs. each, for 100 wethers, is a weight never before heard of, I think, in any part of the world. I took much pains to ascertain the truth of the assertion, and find I may rely on the veracity of the person who killed them. I have had sheep nearly double that weight in carcass, and have had premiums

* The wild shrub tutu (coriaria ruscifolia), greedily devoured by sheep and cattle, produces a sort of "hoven" effect, something like that of rich clover pastures when stock break in and over feed. Tutu occasionally proves fatal to newly-imported animals. Bleeding and a dose of spirits is the common cure. Belladonna, too, is said to be an antidote. Horses and pigs are not affected by it. Probably they do not eat it so greedily. Tutu, however, is soon extirpated from a district; and the entire loss caused by it even now, is probably under one per cent. for both islands.

for the fattest sheep at our agricultural meetings at home; but I never had sheep turn out loose fat anything to be compared to these Wellington sheep; although some of mine have measured almost six inches deep in solid fat. It is a well-known fact, too, that sheep which only averaged two and a half pounds of wool in New South Wales, brought to New Zealand have clipped four pounds of wool. The reason is accounted for by the 'droughts' in New South Wales. The wool that grows where sheep are suffering either from want of food or water, reduces the fleece, weakens the staple, and of course lessens the value very considerably. All these things, put together, speak much for New Zealand.

"A great portion of this North Island is covered with fern; but in a few years I have not the least doubt that it will nearly disappear, through the sheep and cattle feeding on it and treading it down, and through their feeding on the clover and other grasses when seeding, of which they are very fond. They then carry the seeds to different parts of their feeding-ground, uninjured by mastication, and this proves an excellent way of propagating it; so that in a few years this country may be covered with herbage of this description. I will not presume to give an estimate of what the pastoral exports then will be: they will be immense. The South Island is more adapted for sheep at present, being more grassy and more free from fern. I prefer this, however, as I consider the climate is the best, and one, indeed, which cannot be surpassed."—*Diary of a Somersetshire Farmer visiting New Zealand on a tour of Inspection.*

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Ewes will produce lambs until nine or ten years old, and the net annual increase of a flock of ewes will average between eighty and ninety per cent., or about ten per cent. more than in Australia—a high ratio of increase when we remember that the sheep is the merino, one of the least productive of breeds; and one the most liable to casualties of parturition. In some flocks, indeed, in favoured districts, the increase of lambs has been more than *ninety* per cent., as will appear from the following testimony of one of the principal flock-masters of Otago:—

"The pasture is not burnt up with heat in summer, nor

killed with cold in winter. So little does the season affect the growth of wool, that sheep strayed at shearing-time have been left over until next year, when the double fleece is taken from them. The writer recovered a wether that had been driven into a secluded valley by dogs three years before. The fleece was well washed, and when dried weighed with the pelt attached sixteen pounds, the fibre showing no signs of a break. The country is naturally very well drained, water soon finding its way off the surface. On this account foot-rot is rare. With plenty of food, good shelter, and dry beds, sheep ought to thrive; and they do. *Ninety per cent. of increase is common in the Waitaki district, and ninety-six has been obtained at Waikowaite.* As the majority of the runs are newly taken up, and the lambing for the first year or two is generally not so good, it is difficult to state the average percentage of increase, but for a time it will probably become greater every year. Catarrh is unknown; whilst scab is being exterminated through careful supervision." —*Cargill's Otago.*

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CATTLE.—Counting native and European owned herds, New Zealand may now possess some 200,000 head of cattle. Like the sheep, the original stock was imported from Australia. But unlike our sheep, our cattle make no pretensions to be of any particular breed: short horns, long horns, no horns, a dozen varieties, are so crossed and mixed that Youatt himself would scarce distinguish the predominant strain.

New Zealand, in some respects, is even a better habitat for cattle than for sheep; inasmuch as many of the rugged tracts and forest districts, inaccessible to sheep, are excellent grazing and browsing ground for horned stock. New Zealand beef, like New Zealand mutton, is excellent in quality; and four-year old, wild-grazed, bullocks, will not unfrequently weigh 1,200 lbs. During my last visit to Taranaki, I saw a herd of cattle, browsing among the wild shrubberies of the Waitera, some of which would have done for the Smithfield Christmas-show; whilst the richness of our artificial pastures for dairy purposes is proved by Canterbury's fat cheeses, and New Plymouth's Devonshire cream.

Like sheep, three-fourths of our cattle are, at present, grazed

by squatters on the wild lands of the colony. Generally, some portion of a run—either some low-lying, moister portion; or some broken or bushy "browsing" ground—is better suited for horned stock than for sheep; and such portion is occasionally devoted to a herd of cattle, as a sort of second string to the squatter's bow.

As bullocks are much used for farm draught-stock; as dairy produce is a very profitable commodity; and as there is already a considerable demand for beef, for the supply of the towns and the shipping, "cattle-breeding" bids fair to become an important pursuit in New Zealand; and will unquestionably figure as our second great branch of pastoral industry.

Horses.—Counting those owned both by colonists and natives, the number of horses may be roughly estimated at 25,000, and is rapidly increasing. The original stock, imported mainly from Australia, has been very considerably improved by fresh blood from England. The Hon. Henry Petre (a fellow-passenger on my first expedition to New Zealand) took out the two thorough-breds Ether and Riddlesworth; and several fine animals, including Towton, Incledon, The Peer, and others, have been more recently introduced. The horse is a very favourite animal in New Zealand, and is perhaps more generally used with us than it is in England. Pastoral colonists and natives are bold and dashing riders; gigs and carriages are scarce, roads are bad, railroads things to come, and country ladies, instead of being boxed up in brougham, will generally visit their friends, and descend on the towns, shopping, on horseback. Indeed, on the turf, as in the flock yard and dairy farm, young New Zealand appears to be manifesting the national taste, and to be a true chip of the old block. Well-conducted annual races are held in every settlement. Those of Auckland, attracting the governor, the court, the regimental band, and a mixed concourse of colonists, citizens, soldiers, sailors, and natives, all in gala array, present an animated scene; and save for the absence of the thimble-rig fraternity, the Guards' drag, and the nymphs of Portland-street and St. John's Wood, the Auckland Races might well pass for the New Zealand Derby. But in racing matters, the colonists, especially the Nelson men, who have ever taken the lead on the

turf, now no longer content to achieve successes on their own fields, are seeking fresh victories in Australia. At a late New South Wales "Homebush Meeting," the Derby of Australia, two New Zealand mares, Zoe and Zingari, carried off the honours of the day; and their spirited owner, J. Redwood, Esq., of Nelson, who had taken these specimens of New Zealand blood over to New South Wales—a voyage of 1200 miles—was entertained at a public dinner by the Sydney turfites, in celebration of the event. Again, at the late Australian Champion Races held at Melbourne, where 18 horses started for the Champion Sweepstakes, viz.—4 from Nelson, 4 from Tasmania, 1 from South Australia, and 8 from Victoria—Strop, a Nelson horse, carrying 10st. 4lb., came in fourth, the value of the stakes being 2750*l.*; distance, 3 miles, over a rough course; time, nearly 6 minutes. For the second event, however, the Melbourne Handicap of 100 sovereigns, where 16 horses started, Mr. Duppa's Nelson horse, Camden, won cleverly; and put several thousand pounds into the pockets of his backers.

There is a considerable and an increasing demand both for draught and riding horses, in New Zealand; and the prices rule high and remunerative to the breeder. A few horses are generally bred with great advantage on the sheep runs; and the extract below (taken from the letter of an Indian officer settled in Canterbury) suggests the establishment in New Zealand of breeding studs for the Indian cavalry service.

"Any horses required can be bred on these plains, from the English dray-horse to the English racer. This is a question that nearly touches the Indian Government, and one that should not be dismissed without some consideration. Are the horses for the artillery and the dragoons up to the work required? No; most certainly not. Where can the horses required be obtained? The objection to the Australian horse is, that he is allowed to run wild till he can never be quite broken in. At any rate, those exported seldom are; the reason being that a large tract of land is required to graze them. Both cattle and horses in Australia become as wild as those of the Pampas, and many a broken bone does the squatter receive in the desperate chase, and still more desperate encounter with these semi-wild animals. But in New Zealand they may be domesticated as in

England, and with this extra advantage—the climate is so good, they require no cover, and as no snow lies on the ground, they can graze all the year round. I maintain, that were the Indian Government to take up a run, lay a portion of it down with English grass, and import stallions from England and mares from Australia, they could breed horses cheaper than they could procure from any part of the world. For such a trade, too, New Zealand is at least as well placed as any settlement in Australia, save Swan River. The route, for all, is through Torres Straits. When the monsoon is from the south-east, when the Straits are shut, the eastern passage through the China Seas with a cargo of horses on board would be preferable to beating round that stormy Cape, the Lewin, and in this case New Zealand has the advantage."

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Pigs.—Of English sty pigs and native tame pigs, the various Settlements may now count full 100,000. As to wild pigs, it is impossible even to guess at their number. They abound, however, in certain localities; and poor Hood probably had New Zealand in his eye when he wrote:—

"There is a land of pure delight
Where omelets grow on trees,
And roasted pigs come crying out,
Oh! eat me if you please."

All fattening roots are so easily grown; fine hams and bacon command so good a price in various Australian and foreign markets; and the home and colonial shipping promise to create so brisk a demand for salt pork, that "pig-feeding," as a branch of dairy farming, bids fair to become an important branch of agricultural industry. The animal fattens kindly and attains a great size. The *Wellington Independent*, leaving lofty local politics for a moment and stooping to be useful, asserts, below, that he has seen one weighing over six cwt.; but the author has seen one, of a celebrated local breed, fed at the New Plymouth Brewery, which weighed nearer half a ton.

"Messrs. Luxford and Ling slaughtered five large pigs this week, the smallest of which weighed, when cleaned, upwards of 4 cwt. Notwithstanding the great size of the animals, the meat appeared to be of a very fine quality. The five taken

together are the largest we have ever seen killed in Wellington; indeed we only remember one which surpassed them in weight, namely, that fed by Mr. M'Masters, which weighed upwards of 6 cwt."—*Wellington Independent.*

Goats.—I trust the reader will not think I mention the goat as an animal worthy to rank with pastoral or farm stock. The goat, except perhaps on the cliffs of Pannanich, where he consorts with the raven, the badger, and the fox, and produces his worthy proprietor some fine heads and skins, is a nuisance in any civilised country where he may be tolerated; and I only name him here in caution to any patriotic emigrant from the Principality. Accompanying some friends once, to select cabins in one of Messrs. Willis' packets, I met a Welshman on board anxiously inquiring about accommodation for two *goats* he thought of taking out—the couple, landed, would have cost Taffy some 10*l.*; and the *profitable* character of the venture will be made evident to the reader when I tell him that a flock of goats, sold by my brother in New Plymouth, realized only some sevenpence-halfpenny a head.

Taking out Breeding Stock.—Emigrants of small means cannot take out too few things, and too much money; and the investment of any portion of their little capitals in a costly article like breeding stock would be an ill-advised proceeding.

With that increasing class of emigrants, however, the men of larger means—*those who go in time, and whilst they have some capital to go with*—the case is somewhat different; and any gentleman acquainted with stock, and now going to New Zealand to invest a couple of thousand or so in agricultural or pastoral pursuits, might, perhaps, do worse than take half a dozen sheep (rams and ewes), a couple of young short-horns, or a well-bred colt or filly.

The choice Merinos, which, from time to time, have been imported from Europe to improve the New Zealand Merino, have generally been obtained on the continent; but there is a small flock of pure Merinos of high descent, kept up in this country, and hitherto overlooked by our New Zealand flock-masters, which would, I think, supply us with a finer and more fitting ram than

any we have obtained from Frankenfield or Rambouillet. I allude to the "Sturgeon flock" at Grays, Essex, which has long supplied stock to Australia and the Cape, and which has sent rams to the latter colony that have been resold there at 90*l.* each. Milburn, speaking of this flock, says—

"Mr. Sturgeon (of the 'Elms,' Grays, Essex) informs me that our climate seems to affect both the carcass and the wool of imported sheep. He showed me some tups bred from sheep selected in Silesia by his son, from the flocks of Prince Tichnowsky and Baron Bartenstein; and we noticed that the wool was nearly double the length of that produced by either the sire or the dam.

"Nature appears to refuse to give the finest wool to the largest carcase; but Mr. Sturgeon's exertions for the last thirty years seem to have induced some relaxation in his favour; for on sheep that would, if fatted, weigh ten or twelve stones, we find a quality of wool that can hardly be surpassed; and such sheep as (possessing the requisites of size and form, and the constitution peculiar to English-bred animals) must always be in request by our colonists, and have the preference over the German-bred animals, which seem to want the size, form, constitution, and length of staple they are sent to restore.

"Mr. Sturgeon's Merinos are the result of an amalgamation of the flocks of his late Majesty George the Third with those of the late Lord Western and Mrs. Dorien, both of whose flocks he purchased at their death. To these he has added the best blood of the continent; and now, we think, possesses such sheep as were never before bred in this country."

The following letter from the present Mr. Sturgeon, may interest my agricultural readers :—

"Dear Sir, "*Grays, Essex, March* 10, 1860.

"All pure sheep known as Merinos, are descended from the Negrettis of Spain, although they will now be found, from the effects of climate, pasturage and breeding, to vary very much in their different localities. If you want that branch of the race which now exhibits the finest *fibre*, you will find it in Silesia—but if you seek that which gives the largest quantity of the finest wool, you must come to Grays. That has been our

and our father's object for more than a quarter of a century, and we have succeeded. *You may find finer fibre than ours, you may possibly find more wool—but on no other sheep will you find so great a quantity, and so fine a quality, combined.* We have looked Europe over, and such is our conviction. We were for many years contemporary breeders of Merinos with Lord Western; and at his death bought his PURE Merinos, which are now merged in our general flock. Lord Western bred his sheep pure, and had a fine flock; but he did, towards the end of his life, try the experiment of a cross with the 'Cotswold,' not the *Down*, as you seem to suppose; and which he called "Anglo-Merinos"—these cross breeds we did *not* buy, nor any ewe that had been used to produce them.

"Our present price is twelve guineas for rams, and six guineas for ewes.

"I am, dear Sir,

"Faithfully yours,

"THOMAS STURGEON.

"CHARLES HURSTHOUSE, ESQ., *Taunton Place, Regent's Park.*"

In case any of my readers should feel disposed to introduce a few choice specimens of the long-wooled Lincoln sheep, I should advise him to apply to that eminent breeder, Henry Ollard, Esq., Walsoken, near Wisbeach. This gentleman annually lets a great number of his rams: his average shearlings will weigh full 40 lbs. a quarter, his ewe fleeces will weigh about 11 lbs., his rams full 14 lbs.; and I believe the average price of his wool for the last five years has been nearly 1*s.* 6*d.* per pound.

A young short-horned bull, of the purest blood, would be the best animal to take in horned cattle; whilst for horses, I think nothing would be better than a big, thorough-bred, hunter-like colt or filly. I should, however, regard horses as a less safe and certain speculation than sheep or cattle. Of course, the reader will perceive that in taking out any stock, the breed should be one of the greatest purity and established celebrity: a ram whose lambs would not fetch 1*l.* each in New Zealand, costs just as much to take thither as a ram whose lambs would fetch 10*l.* each.

The present rates of freight for stock, including fittings, water, food, and attendance, are about as follows:—Sheep, five guineas; horned cattle, fifty guineas; horses, sixty guineas each: insurance against death and accidents, about 25*l.* per cent. The following passage from a colonist's letter, may supply some useful hints with respect to taking out stock.*

"*It is of the utmost importance, if you intend to be an owner of flocks and herds, to begin with stock which you know to possess genuine blood.* By early application to the broker of the ship in which you are going, you may generally secure a free passage for a cow with her calf, in order that the cabin may be supplied with milk; so that you will only have to insure against loss and to provide food. Otherwise, you have to pay also for the freight of water and provisions, for fittings and for attendance. A cow should be sent, if possible, with her first calf by her side. A bull should be two years old when put on board. The cost will vary according to the ship, and the arrangements that can be made. As some guide, here is a rough account of the expenses actually incurred on a bull that was sent from England to Wellington:—

| | £ | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Cost of bull | 42 | 0 | 0 |
| Provisions, fittings, and attendance on voyage | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Freight, primage, and charges | 20 | 0 | 0 |
| Insurance of 50*l.* at 21 per cent. (with policy 5*s.* 3*d.*) | 10 | 15 | 3 |
| Total cost landed | £82 | 15 | 3 |

"The provisions for the voyage for a cow and a calf will cost about 8*l.* The insurance is against all risks, including mortality and jetsam, and varies from 15 to 20 per cent."

* The "Passengers' Act" forbids the regular passenger ships from carrying out live stock as freight. When, therefore, cattle are shipped to New Zealand they are generally sent out in some small vessel of 300 or 400 tons, specially laid on for stock, and which, carrying only a few saloon passengers, makes up with light goods. If, however, early application be made to the shipping house, a young milch cow of some fine breed may be taken at a lower rate in the regular passenger ships for the purpose of supplying milk to the saloon. Half a dozen sheep, too; dogs, or pens of choice poultry or game, may also be carried in the regular passenger ships without infringing the Act.

Dogs.—Dogs are occasionally taken; the freight is about 5*l*. Sporting dogs and fancy dogs are not, however, worth taking; and the only two animals (at present) worth carrying over, are the Scotch colley, and any sort of retriever, equal to flushing and fetching a wild duck by river or lake.

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System of Farming and Grazing.—The preceding observations will, I hope, give the reader a fair idea of the character of our wild lands, and of our modes of clearing them, of the varieties of our arable crops, and of the quantity and quality of our stock; and it is now necessary to give him a short account of our system of farming and grazing, together with a rough estimate of the profits to be derived from the gradual creation of a landed estate by means of the plough and the fleece.

Some difficulty is experienced, however, in treating of such a subject as the "system of farming and grazing in New Zealand," owing to the awkward fact that up to the present time, almost, there has been no system. Hitherto, farming and grazing have been two utterly distinct pursuits, followed by two distinct classes of settlers. Farming, or rather corn and potato growing, was, for the most part, undertaken by the man of small capital and large family, who, buying from 100 to 300 acres of land, would gradually clear a few acres every year, and grow his patches of wheat, barley, oats, and potatoes. After purchasing his land, putting up his house and little out-buildings, getting together his rude implements, and paying for the extra labour required in first clearing the soil, he had little or no money left for the purchase of sheep or cattle; he was often, too, a novice, quite ignorant of the marvellous effects of root-growing and manure-making in increasing the arable produce of land; for crops, he trusted to fine climate and virgin soil, and beyond a cow or two for his dairy, a pig or two for his tub, such a man would often not own a single head of live stock, and, what is more, easy-going, muddle-head as he was, would often tell you he did well enough without it. Grazing, on the contrary, has, so far, been an occupation followed more by young unmarried men of larger capital. The Grazier, or Runholder (or "Squatter," as he is coarsely and inaptly called), was often a lusty young bachelor, with a thousand or two, and a pretty taste

in horseflesh. He would lease ten or twenty thousand acres of wild land from one of the Local Governments, buy 500 ewes, or a small mob of cattle, and a mare or two, and drive them to his pastures. Here, he would put up a hut for himself and shepherd, make a kitchen garden (if not too lazy), procure his flour and groceries by bullock-dray from the nearest little settlement or bush store, and set himself down, a sort of pastoral, hard-riding Robinson Crusoe, to feed, breed, and fatten his sheep, or his sheep and his cattle, on what is popularly called the "Squatting system." Our stolid farmer of the Bush shook his head at live stock as something which required expensive fences—our young grazier of the Hills and Plains sneered at corn-growing as plodding drudgery beneath a youth of spirit, and thus the two men and the two pursuits were kept distinct and separate.

The time is approaching, however, when, in the natural order of progress, this suicidal separation of the two great branches of agriculture will cease: our farmers will become graziers, our graziers, farmers, and the "mixed system" of farming will soon become generally practised. During the last two or three years our corn-growers have discovered that a little live stock wonderfully aids the plough, and not only pays well itself, but makes other things pay far better; and the consequence is, that we now find an increasing portion of corn land every year laid down in grass, and can count a few cattle or a little flock of sheep on a thousand farms where a few years since sheep and cattle were animals all but unknown. The stoppage of the old system of wild grazing or squatting, as a thing apart from farm-grazing, will arise from rather a different cause: the corn-grower is becoming partly a grazier, because it pays him to graze; whereas the new comer, who looks to becoming only a wild-grazier or runholder, will have to become partly a farmer or field-grazier, because he can no longer become a runholder. The whole of the runs in every province of New Zealand are occupied, and run-holding on leased lands, as a pursuit apart from grazing on farmed lands, is a pursuit which has reached its natural limits in New Zealand, and which will now, necessarily, be stopped. Young men, however, arriving in New Zealand during the next two or three years, may be still able to engage themselves in runholding pursuits. If they have a good

capital, they may buy out some happy Squatter who, having made his little fortune, and weary of his desolate shepherd's life, is off on a trip to England in search of a fair young wife; or they may make an arrangement with some runholder, whose run is not stocked up, to take sheep on "terms"* for a period of years; or if they have but a small capital, coupled with energy and ability, they may get on runs as resident managers or working partners. But, looked on as a great, leading, permanent, industrial pursuit, which may profitably occupy hundreds yet to come, I repeat that "runholding" is an extinct pursuit in New Zealand, and that the Squatter's occupation's gone.

Neither as regards the public interest of the colony, nor the private gain and good of the individual, do I regard this as at all a matter of regret.† Squatters and runholders, shepherds and stockmen, are admirable pioneers in the wilderness; and the colony where they are found will ever owe them much. But they are emphatically the men of the wilderness; and, as population advances and lands are wanted for the plough, they must either make way for the plough or *take* the plough; and either see put, or put, a *dozen* sheep on a piece of land which, while in their hands, grazed but *one*. Neither, as before observed, do I regard the necessary and gradual substitution of field grazing for wild grazing as a change likely to be other than beneficial to the *individual*. It has long been my opinion (an opinion which I think many of my brother colonists would now endorse) that the investment of an emigrant family's capital in the purchase of wild land, and the gradual creation from it of a cultivated landed estate, with stock and crop, does, eventually, prove a more profitable investment than mere sheep-farming conducted on the rude squatting system. It is true that the scarcity and dearness of farm labour do seriously impede the

* These terms vary according to circumstances. A young runholder having secured a large run, and, short of capital, being unable to stock it up fully, might be willing to make an arrangement with some town-dwelling capitalist or new comer to take a thousand or two sheep on these terms; that is, for a period of five or seven years, to allow him half the annual increase of the flock, together with 2*s*. for each clipped fleece. In other circumstances, the runholder might be disposed to do *more* than this; in others, again, not so much.

† See remarks on this subject at the end of Chap. XVII.

work of clearing and cultivating wild lands, and true that the agriculturist cannot carry on operations without labour, and that the squatter (almost) can. But many emigrant families are, or might *make* themselves, almost independent of this "labour tax"—that is, their own family and estate, as shown in the Appendix I contributed to the New Zealand Handbook, would furnish most of the hands necessary to *create* and *work* such an estate. And what the squatter always forgets in urging the superiority of his investment is this:—that he is a mere *tenant* of land, a mere lodger in the wilderness; that he gets little or no *hold* of the country, owns no broad acres in it; and is, therefore, cut off from any participation in that great element of profit existing in all countries which are undergoing the process of Anglo-Saxon colonization, viz. *the rise in the value of land occasioned by the spread of civilization and the free incoming of immigrant population*—a rise which has made millions of acres in America, Canada, and Australia almost as valuable as acres in Middlesex and Kent, and which has centupled the value of thousands of farms and clearings in every old colony of the empire. Even, too, on the particular question of growing wool, almost the squatter's sole article of production, it is, I think, contended with great truth, as some day I hope to prove, that as many of our wild lands in New Zealand can be laid down in pasture at a cost of from 1*l.* to 2*l.* per acre, and as *one* acre of such pasture lands (with a few roots added) is capable of supporting five or six sheep, while *three* acres of the squatter's wild land are required to graze *one* sheep, wool could be grown more profitably with the sheep grazed on farm pastures, where there would be a heavier fleece and less liability to preventible disease, than it could with the animal depastured on the wild herbage of the country, and suffered to roam half *ferœ naturœ* over hill and plain exposed to all the vicissitudes of a semi-savage life.

Looking at all these things, I hold that what is termed "estate-creating" may be made even a better-paying pursuit in New Zealand than mere sheep farming; while, if we extend our view and look to the *pleasantness* of the respective occupations, we must at once accord a great superiority to the former—the one, places a family among friendly neighbours, amid the cheerful sights and sounds of corn fields, orchards, gardens and

meadows, where every blow they strike, every turf they turn, improves or beautifies a blooming little freehold of their own—the other, banishes them to the rude plain or rugged waste, where Zimmermann might have mused on Solitude, and where the Sabbath chimes are seldom heard.

These varied considerations induce me to believe that in a few years farming and grazing will be conducted on the "mixed system" in New Zealand; and that our future farms and landed estates may be prefigured, for the most part, under three types, namely, the "little garden farm," the "corn and dairy farm," and the "large grass farm."

The first will be one of from 40 to 60 acres; often made on bush land, and often lying near the outskirts of some rising town or village; the proprietor will frequently be some industrious ex-labourer or mechanic, or professional man, or man of small income, or retired tradesman, farming partly for pleasure, partly for exercise and profit. Here, there will be a large orchard and kitchen garden, two or three corn-fields, and a paddock or two; and the live stock will consist of three or four cows, with perhaps, a score or two fat sheep, a mare and pony, a dozen pigs, and some bees and poultry.

The "corn and dairy farm" will be one of from 200 to 500 acres; the proprietor will frequently be some old agriculturist or small capitalist emigrant, who, with his family, will perform a fair share of the farm labour. Here, about one-fourth of the farm will be devoted to corn crops, and the remainder to pasture fields and occasional root crops for stock and for dairy farm requirements; and here, in addition to a good supply of small stock, there will often be a hundred or two long-woolled sheep, and a score or two of fat cattle.

The third, but less numerous type of farm, will be the "large grass farm," of from 1000 to 3000 acres, owned by some retired runholder, as suggested in Chap. XVII., or by some wealthy colonist fond of fresh air and fine stock. Here, there will be a little corn land, and a good provision of garden, orchard, shrubbery, game cover, and pleasure ground; but nine-tenths of the estate will be large open grass fields, where will be depastured a little stud of blood horses, a herd of shorthorns, and three or four thousand Merino, or Merino and South Down, sheep.

PROFITS OF FARMING AND GRAZING.*—It would be possible to lay before the reader an estimate of the cost of creating an estate of a certain number of acres in New Zealand, and of the probable amount of the annual income or profit which such an estate would return him when brought into full cultivation on the mixed farm system. But this chapter is already so long, the requirements of space are so pressing, that I must forego the attempt, and content myself with offering the intending emigrant a few figures, from which he may himself make a rough calculation as to how far the "plough and the fleece" are likely to pay him in New Zealand.

Remarks.

1. Farm hand labour nearly as dear again as in England; but no penny of outgoings for rent, rates, taxes, or tithes.
2. Wild farm lands purchaseable, on the average, at 1*l.* per acre, and reducible to "crop state" at an average of 4*l.* per acre more: thus making the fee-simple of the soil cleared, reduced to cultivation and fit for crops—procurable at an average cost of 5*l.* per acre.
3. Such soil, under the plough, capable of producing corn and root crops, equal to a crop of 30 bushels of wheat per acre; or, in grass, capable of grazing stock equal to the rate of five sheep per acre. The mean average cash market prices of the various products of a mixed farm, say, for a period of the next five years to come, assumed as follows:—

*Arable Produce.*

| | | £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 4. | Wheat, and fine malting barley, per bushel | 0 | 6 | 0 |
| | Oats, " | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| | Potatoes, fine riddled per ton | 5 | 0 | 0 |

*Grazing Produce.*

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5. | Good Ewes per head | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| | Fat wethers " | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| 6. | Wool per lb. | 0 | 1 | 6 |

* Some important additional remarks on this subject will be found in the last chapter, in the article on "Retired Genteel Families."

| | |
|---|---|
| Fair average fat bullocks and good dairy cows, per head | 10*l.* to 12*l.* |
| Good working steers, per pair, broken | 20*l.* to 30*l.* |
| Useful farm colt or filly | 25*l.* to 35*l.* |
| Thorough-bred ditto | 50*l.* to 100*l.* |
| Fine hay, per ton | 6*l.* to 7*l.* |

(Occasionally, when pressed, hay is 15*l.* and 20*l.* per ton in Sydney and Melbourne).

*Dairy Produce.*

| | |
|---|---|
| 7. Good fresh butter, per lb. | 1*s.* to 1*s* 3*d.* |
| Good cheese, per lb. | 8*d.* to 10*d.* |
| Prime bacon and hams, per lb. | 8*d.* to 10*d.* |
| Milk (near towns), per quart | 3*d.* to 4*d.* |
| Eggs, per dozen | 1*s.* to 1*s.* 6*d.* |
| Fat chickens (near towns), per pair | 4*s.* to 5*s.* |

Turkeys, geese, ducks, and pigeons, easily reared, but mostly dear.

*Garden Produce.*

Onions, carrots, peas, beans, and other garden vegetables, together with fruits and honey, saleable at good prices on farms near towns, whaling harbours, and village ports.

REMARKS ON THE PRECEDING ITEMS.

1. Assuming that farm hand-labour be 2*s.* a-day in England, it cannot, I think, be taken, as a mean average for the next five years, at less than 4*s.* a-day in New Zealand. But, owing to the causes named in the preceding remarks on this subject, and to the fact that with us the agriculturist and his family themselves often contribute a large share of labour, I do not think that the English farmer, paying away 1*l.* for labour in England, would find himself paying away more than 1*l.* 10*s.*, or at most 1*l.* 15*s.*, if he went to New Zealand.

2. In the province of Canterbury 2*l.* per acre is most unwisely charged for wild land; but in every other province the price may be said to vary from 10*s.* to 20*s.* an acre; while the average run of our common wild lands, taking one sort

with another, can certainly be cleared and made fit for seed at about 4*l.* per acre.

3. The productive acreage-power of the farm may seem high. But there can be no question that, under the improved manuring "mixed-system," which is here assumed, the productive average power of the farm would prove equal to the figures put down.

4. These prices are not, I think, at all too high. Indeed, weighing the various causes which may affect the price of grain in New Zealand during the next five years, I have felt inclined to put wheat down at 7*s.* Fine malting barley always commands a higher relative price in Australasia than in Europe. Oats may seem high, but the "Blue-Book" declared average value of some 250,000 bushels which have been exported to Sydney and Melbourne during the last seven years, is rather more than 6*s.* a bushel. Some 50,000 tons of potatoes have also been exported to Australia during the last seven years, and the declared average value is put down at 7*l.* per ton.

5. Looking at the growing demand for breeding stock consequent on that change, or coming change, in our system of farming and grazing which has been described, I do not think ewes will exhibit a lower average price than 20*s.* per head for the next five years. As to wethers, it is a matter of conjecture whether we shall *ever* have to resort to "boiling down;" but if we do, we have only to glance at the Australian's letter, at page 222, and at the Somersetshire farmer's testimony, page 229, to take heart, and assure ourselves that if we have to kill our wethers for tallow, not for meat, we shall find they have a goodly store of tallow to give us. But whatever we may come to some day or other, I shall be happy to bet our prince of graziers, Mr. Weld, the price of his best blood colt, that, except perhaps from curiosity to see what fat he would yield, we don't boil down a single wether *this* side of 1865. We have to recollect that, looking to emigration and births, we may have, during the next five years, some half million mouths to feed daily with beef and mutton; mouths quite equal in capacity of purchase and capacity of swallow* to double the number of old-country mouths; and

* I mean that the well-to-do population we have in New Zealand can afford to buy all the butchers' meat they would like to eat. In England,

that in addition to this home demand our prime fat wethers will probably be exported, ere long, as deck freight for our inter-colonial steamers on their return to Sydney and Melbourne.*

6. Our excellent annual Statistical Blue-Book just received in England, shows that our export of wool, in the year 1859, was one of nearly 500,000 lbs., and the mean uniform value per lb. is taken there at 1*s.* 4*d.* Looking, however, at the gradual improvements we are making, both in our breed of sheep, and in the process of getting up our wool for market, I think that we may fairly put down the mean average price for the next five years at 1*s.* 6*d.* per lb.

7. Dairy produce will, I think, fully command these prices. Good firkin butter, rich cheese, prime hams, and flitches of bacon, such as a good dairy wife could produce in New Zealand, are always articles in request for Melbourne and Sydney, and for the whalers and general shipping, and for our home town markets. The dairy and the poultry yard, the orchard and kitchen garden, are, however, profitable little branches of New Zealand farming, which are often neglected with us as things too insignificant to merit attention: a circumstance to be regretted, inasmuch as these things pay well when well attended to; while employing, as they do, the female hands of a farm, they often show us with what truth stout old Cobbett said, that pretty women were never prettier than when patting butter and making bread.

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and in all old countries, the common people cannot do this. There, a poor man wants a log of mutton, and has to content himself with a chop—with us, the labourer wants both leg and shoulder, and buys both. Again, the hard working, open-air-living population of a young country consumes far more animal food than the city-pent-populations of old countries: a tradesman's family, consuming, weekly, 50 lbs. of mutton in an English town, would consume 100 lbs. if they were set to work in the New Zealand bush.

* The whole of Australia can scarce produce a good succulent joint of table mutton. Butchers' meat, such as it is, is every year becoming dearer in the great metropolis of Sydney, and in the greater one of Melbourne; and, as we get more and faster steamers, I believe we shall eventually send our fat wethers to Australia, where they will be esteemed a delicacy just as the South Downs of England, carried over by steamer, are esteemed a delicacy in Boston and New York.

## CHAPTER XIII.

### INVESTMENTS AND PURSUITS, OTHER THAN AGRICULTURAL AND PASTORAL.

CAPITALISTS—MONEY LENDING AND EMPLOYMENT OF MONEY.—As the great majority of people who go to New Zealand go there in order to acquire some landed property, one of the commonest investments is that of purchasing 100 to 500 or 5000 acres of wild land, to be gradually converted into a cultivated freehold estate by the judicious application of capital and labour.

But in a young colony, rapidly rising from infancy to vigorous youth, like New Zealand, there are various promising investments for capital besides those of land; and what is termed a "capitalist-emigrant,"—that is the man with from 3000*l.* to 5000*l.*—while he generally purchases a bit of land, and personally busies himself and family in the work of bringing it into cultivation, will frequently keep a few hundreds or a thousand or so by him in the bank ready for any small investment or profitable little speculation which may offer.

Money is frequently *lent* to good advantage. Ten per cent. is the common rate of interest on mortgage securities, 12½ to 15 on bill-discounting; and the transactions in either are quite as safe and *bona-fide* as in England. Where a *necessary* article is *scarce*, there it will be *dear*. Money is scarce in New Zealand, profits are generally high; and cultivators, stock-owners, master mechanics, traders, and others, having each a profitable pursuit, and no rent, rate, tax, or tithe to pay, can well afford to borrow a few hundreds at 10*l.* per cent. to enable them to nurse up and extend their thriving little concerns.

In New Zealand, too, there are hundreds (in a few years there may be thousands) of that admirable emigrant, the industrious ex-labourer, tilling his own fields; and these, the hardy yeomen

of the new Land, are often good customers to the capitalist, and will frequently borrow money at 10 and 12 per cent. The very fact of their industrious ambition having already raised them half a dozen steps in the ladder of life, justifies the belief that a continual display of industrious ambition will raise them half a dozen steps higher. Thus, the moral, the *personal*, securities of such a class of borrowers are good; but such borrowers do not come to borrow on personal securities—all have their little homesteads and freeholds, and it is on these that they ask to raise 50*l.* or 100*l*, say, to enable them to buy a hundred acres more, or to enable them to increase their dairy stock, or to get a few sheep, or to improve farm buildings and fences, or to build themselves a better house.

But it is not only among small yeomen or garden farmers like these that capital would find a good demand. Large farmers, dairy-farmers, sheep-farmers, cattle-farmers, numbers of thriving well-to-do colonists, engaged some way or other in the cultivation of the soil, would frequently like to borrow a few hundreds at 10 per cent. for the profitable improvement of their young estates, or for the purpose of enabling them to take part in some of the many little speculations which are always offering to a shrewd active man in a young and rising colony like New Zealand.

The mercantile, the retail-trading, and the town-dwelling interests, like the agricultural and the pastoral, are also occasional borrowers of money on short terms. In England, and in all old, densely-peopled, *rich* countries, there is generally far more of capital than of profitable *employment* for capital; and with us millions lie almost waste and barren, or are dissipated in catching shadows. But in a young colony, like New Zealand, the reverse of all this is the case—there, the influx of population annually develops fresh resources, increases exports and imports, multiplies the channels of trade; and, there, the demand and employment for capital exceed the supply. Indeed, such is the legitimate demand for capital in New Zealand, that a New Zealand Loan Company might now probably be started with advantage. If fifty shareholders, say with 100,000*l.* or so (some of them going out to reside in the colony), were now to organize a loan company, establish an office, *under good management*, in each of the eight provincial capitals, and advance money on

good securities, in sums, say of from 50*l.* to 500*l.*, it is the opinion of many experienced colonists, that they might divide a net annual profit of full 20 per cent.

Mining, too, will probably become a regular industrial pursuit. Shares in coasting vessels and intercolonial steamers may eventually pay high interest. Shipments of live stock and goods from Australia may sometimes be picked up cheap, and resold in a few weeks at good profit. Building speculations would answer in some parts; and as capital, skill, and labour flow in, it seems only reasonable to suppose that the preparation and export of some of the *natural* products of the country, such as the wild flax and others, will open further channels for the judicious investment of money.

The capitalist-reader should, however, bear in mind that, though, as a body, the people of New Zealand are justly proud of their substantial respectability, and are unquestionably much the highest class of colonists to be found in any of our colonial dominions, yet that in New Zealand, even, a speculative adventurer may here and there be met with who, having managed to lose all his *own* money, is quite ready to speculate with that of others; and, as a general rule, where the newly-arrived capitalist has no friend in the country on whose colonial experience and judgment he could rely, I should advise him to put his money quietly in the bank, and to use his own eyes and ears for two or three months ere he employed his capital in any of the various little openings which might be offered him.

Medical Men, Lawyers, Surveyors, Engineers, Artists, &c. —I should certainly not advise any professional man whose prospects are pretty good in this country, to move to New Zealand with the view of bettering his condition there; only by and through the practice of his profession. But experience shows that soldiers, sailors, doctors, lawyers, and the like, may all succeed in the agricultural and pastoral pursuits of New Zealand, as well as farmers, graziers, or traders; and professional men buying wild land, and engaging in the work of creating an estate, may now and then make their guinea or two, and add a trifle to their incomes by the *occasional* practice of their old profession, without neglecting that new and principal business which they are prosecuting with success. Cholera,

typhus, and small-pox, are happily unknown in New Zealand, but ladies, with us, are generally in that interesting condition so commendable in a new thinly-peopled country. Lawyers would find some activity in the markets of real property: lands, houses, and hereditaments are often changing hands; and common law and conveyancing are by no means likely to become lost arts. Surveyors find occasional work in opening up new districts, in laying out new towns and villages, reserves and public sections, and also in private field practice among the agricultural settlers; whilst roads and bridges are beginning to call for the engineer.

Here, too, I would impress on my readers an important and a very prominent fact, which, nevertheless, is one very frequently overlooked. It is the fact that New Zealand is a country at present only in its *infant* state; that population is increasing, towns and villages rising, civilisation spreading; and that various old country callings, or professions, which might not receive sufficient support to remunerate the practiser in 1861, might do so in 1865, and might return him good profits or a fair income in 1870. The surgeon, the solicitor, the surveyor, the engineer, the artist, the music-master, the printer, the trader, the store-keeper, the builder, the brewer, each and every professional man and small capitalist who may go to New Zealand in 1861, will, for the most part, settle down on a little landed property and get *rooted*, so to speak, in the new country; when every emigrant of the thousands who may arrive after them, during the next five or ten years, would virtually be to them a fresh patient, or client, or customer, or employer.

Mercantile and Trading Pursuits.—There is, I think, increasing room in New Zealand for active men of business, possessing 2000*l.* to 3000*l.*, and good connexions in London, Manchester, and Birmingham, &c. They would establish their houses in some of the rising ports of the colony; have their correspondents in Sydney, Melbourne, Singapore, and other neighbouring marts of commerce; buy up colonial produce for shipment thither; bring back live stock, sugars, teas, and coffee; consign wool, oil, ores, flax, and other exports to their agents or partners in London; and receive back British

manufactures for home consumption in return. Even with the present speck-like population of only some 80,000 pioneer colonists, the value of the annual export, import, and coasting trade of New Zealand cannot be estimated at less than 3,000,000*l.* —an amount which may soon be doubled as population flows in, and the immense resources of the young colony become developed by the gradual introduction of capital and labour.

Retail Traders.—Small shopkeepers (in colonial parlance, storekeepers) are generally far too numerous a class in all young emigrant communities. Almost every colonial village displays half a dozen flimsy little bandboxes, called "stores," where the sanguine proprietors, having chalked up their names, and put a bar of soap and a frying pan in the window, may be seen seated on a barrel of negrohead, ready to sell you the worst possible article at the highest possible price; and placidly smoking their short pipes in the delusive belief that they are on the high road to fortune; whereas if they knew what was good for themselves and for the community, they would be at work in the fields *producing* something, if it were only an onion, a cabbage, or a potato.

Any active tradesman or brisk shopkeeper, however, emigrating from this country to New Zealand, with a few hundred pounds, might succeed in creating, by degrees, his little landed estate of 100 acres or so, just as well as the professional man; and it might happen that, if he chose to settle in some one or other of the new villages or townships, he could attend to both shop and farm—wife and daughter looking after the one, son and self to the other.

Manufacturing Industry, &c. &c.—Various small breweries have been established with considerable success. Every man can afford to drink good ale; and it is a drink well suited to the climate, and to the active out-door pursuits of the people. Indeed, it is not improbable that pale ale may eventually become an export to Australia, and even India; where, as in all hot English-peopled countries, there is an immense consumption of malt liquor, and where, for the most part, both soil and climate are unfavourable to brewing. New Zealand is both a barley

and a hop country; the climate, with its clear cool nights, and having six months of the twelve with a temperature much the same as that of the best English brewing month, October, is admirably adapted both to the malting and the brewing process; and there is a profusion of the finest and softest water, with an abundance of water-power for cheap machinery.

The provision trade and curing trade have already been alluded to under the head of exports. Soap and candles are made on a small scale; and this business, like tanning, will be much extended as tallow and hides become more plentiful. Rope and cordage making for the supply of the coasting and colonial shipping, and the manufacture of wool lashing from the Phormium tenax or wild flax, is even now a small, but increasing business in New Zealand; and should the bad qualities of this peculiar plant (described at page 89) be ever eradicated by some ingenious Arkwright, the preparation, manufacture, and export of the fibre, will unquestionably become important industrial pursuits, profitably employing a considerable number of growers, dressers, and manufacturers.

No cloth manufactory has yet been established. I should, however, imagine that the colonial manufacture of coarse woollen clothing, like the Australian Paramatta tweeds, might now be successfully commenced. There is now plenty of wool, while water and water power are abundant; some dyes could be grown, others are found in the native barks; and colonists and natives are large consumers of coarse clothing and strong woollen fabrics. Indeed, though New Zealand's manufacturing epoch has not yet arrived, and though the legitimate business of these her early days may be to reclaim her millions of wild acres, and to produce wheat, wool, flax, and raw materials for man's food and clothing; yet the very abundance and variety of her raw materials for manufactures, and her profuse supply of water and cheap water-driving power for machinery, all tend to show that she is likely to become a (partly) self-supplying, manufacturing colony considerably sooner than has been usual with British dependencies.

The timber-trade, in connection with saw-mills; and the corn-trade, in connection with flour-mills, would now be profitable businesses; and there are various localities where

building speculations would now return large and certain profits.

WHALING.—That branch of whaling called "shore-whaling," which consisted in the killing of the black whale, by coast-boat parties, when the cow came in-shore with the calf—a business which, as late as 1845, employed nearly a thousand men and a hundred boats, and which produced an export of oil and bone worth (at present rates) nearly 50,000*l.* a year—is now almost abandoned in New Zealand. Indeed, it was a wasteful, exterminative practice; and coast "whaling-stations" were rude embruted little communities, which New Zealand, becoming an emigration field, could well dispense with.

New Zealand, however, is still in the very midst of the finest sperm and black whale fishing grounds. Last season only, from October to May, one harbour alone in New Zealand, the Bay of Islands, was visited by no fewer than forty-one whaling ships of the average burden of nearly 400 tons. To the reproach, one would almost say, of British enterprise, no fewer than thirty-nine of these vessels were American; and, counting the southern ports in Foveaux Straits, together with Otago, Wellington, Cloudy Bay, and Monganui, it is highly probable that as many as a hundred American whalers visit our New Zealand ports every season for supplies of wood, water, spars, and provisions—catching, under the very noses of our sleepy merchants and seamen, oil and bone to the annual value of a million sterling. It is earnestly to be hoped that the colonists will soon awaken to the presence of this noble sea-mine of wealth, and that ere long New Zealand may boast a little fleet of clipper schooners, catching the sperm whale at her very doors. Auckland and Wellington would even now be quite equal to the work of building and equipping small whaling-craft; there are plenty of old whaling-hands cruising about the coasts; the natives make fine whaling-seamen; and our New Zealand schooners would have this advantage over American ships, that they would be sailed at less expense; and *living*, if we may so express it, *in* the whaling seas, would always be close to their work, and home fishing within a week's run of their port.

If, some years ago, the Messrs. Enderby, letting alone that

desolate wilderness, the Auckland Islands, and allying themselves with the whaling forces of New Zealand, had commenced the new fishery on a small scale from a civilised port like Wellington, and had gradually nursed up their national enterprise in *New Zealand*, it would probably have proved a fortunate one; and if we New Zealand colonists, with the many advantages we possess, do not in a few years retake a portion of the lost British whale-fishery from brother Jonathan, we shall unquestionably deserve to rank as a maritime people fit, and only fit, to sail a bumboat across a duck-pond.

MECHANICAL TRADES AND HANDICRAFTS.—Carpenters, cabinet-makers, painters, glaziers, masons, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, shipwrights, millwrights, coopers, sawyers, thatchers, gardeners, saddlers, tailors, shoemakers, all sorts of farm labourers, and handy jack-of-all-trade fellows, all men who minister to first wants, are certain to succeed in New Zealand—certain, if only sober and industrious, to make what, to them, would be a fortune. It is literally true that hundreds of mechanics and labourers who landed in New Zealand a few years ago, are now substantial freeholders, cultivating their own little estates. Two substantial New Plymouth farmers, elected to the "vestry parliament," and addressed there as "honourable members," came to New Plymouth, the one a journeyman carpenter, the other a most industrious agricultural labourer, and excellent M.P. vestrymen they make. Indeed, every colonist could name a score instances of the gratifying rise of *sober* working men; and any benevolent person knowing some industrious family of this class, and inclined to help them to New Zealand, might rest perfectly satisfied that such family would prosper there; and would soon be able to repay to their benefactor every penny of the money which he might have advanced to help them out.

CLERKS, SHOPMEN, &c.—I cannot advise any of these orders of our home community to try their fortunes in New Zealand as clerks or shopmen. Most of the commercial houses as yet are small, and the active young partners who constitute them appear to do the greater part of their own writing and book-keeping. The same remark applies to shops, the proprietors or their

families doing their own counter work. If, however, any young man of these orders of our city-pent populations insists on emigrating, I would earnestly advise him first to take six months with some good mechanic, and qualify himself as a joiner, cabinetmaker, wheelwright, or carpenter, when he would at least be sure of his 100*l.* a-year in the colony, and could work at his trade until the course of events, the accumulation of his savings, had enabled him to purchase land, or to commence some business on his own account. Driving a plane is surely as manly and as reputable a pursuit as driving a pen; a much healthier pursuit, and, in a colony, a far more lucrative one. In the earlier days of the colony, the Honourable Henry Petre (brother of the present peer) might be seen not disdaining to drive his own carts through the streets of Wellington; and building a house or making a table in New Zealand is surely as high an employment as keeping accounts in an office in England, and a far more manly one than that of taking a girl's place behind the counter, to serve tape and bobbin to pert milliner and mincing miss.

Lady Emigrants.—An active widow lady, with a family of strong healthy sons and daughters, all *desirous* of emigrating, and possessed of a little capital, might unquestionably now go to New Zealand with advantage; some, indeed, have already gone. One to two hundred acres may be purchased near one of the rising villages, and gradually converted by the family (aided, say, by some steady married agricultural labourer, whom they or their friends have selected from their old neighbourhood at home) into a little mixed dairy, arable, and pasture farm—the daughters would probably marry among the colonial youth, and the sons are soon enabled to take their own part, and eventually to establish themselves as independent members of the colonial community.

Where there is less capital, and a widow with a family, or one or two young women, qualified as milliners and dressmakers, are desirous of moving to New Zealand, I should recommend them to proceed to one of the chief towns, where a business of this kind, in combination with a little general or fancy shop, might, I think, be frequently opened with advantage.

School-keeping is not, I think, an occupation to be held out to any lady who might be desirous of improving her position in New Zealand. The estates of the rural colonists are generally some distance from the chief towns; roads are, of course, not so good as they are in England, and the leading families seem to prefer educating their children at home. Governesses, however, especially bonnie lassies who would assist the mistress in the nursery or kitchen, as well as active housekeepers, might often obtain good situations; and I may perhaps hint to some of my fair readers that the matrimonial market is not overstocked in New Zealand, and that the statistical fact recorded in Chap. XVII., would appear to indicate the existence of an extensive field for crinoline, red petticoat, balmoral boot, enterprise and conquest.

In the compass of a work of this nature I have, of course, been unable to mention every opening for the investment of capital which might now be found in New Zealand, or every business or calling which might now, possibly, be commenced there with advantage. It is my opinion, an opinion backed, I believe, by every experienced colonist, that almost any active man now landing in the country with a few hundred pounds, no matter what his former calling or business, *so long as he were willing to work, and "rough it" for the first year or so*, could now scarcely fail to improve his fortunes, and materially brighten the prospects of his children—but here, with reference to any investment or pursuit a man might wish to engage in, but which has not been mentioned in this chapter, I would observe that I should be happy to answer any questions addressed to me at my London Rooms, 5, Charing Cross.

## CHAPTER XIV.

### OUTFIT—PACKING—SERVANTS AND LABOUR-HELP—MONEY—INTRODUCTIONS, ETC.

Among the many questions which arise to trouble and perplex the Emigrant between the first conception of his great step and its actual accomplishment, none, probably, will perplex him more than the question of *Outfit*. One friend recommends him to provide everything from house and mangle down to rolling pin—another, to land with little more than a walking-stick and a wallet; one book counsels him to go armed with things anew to stock a shop—another to take nothing but money and a stout heart.

Having frequently discussed "outfitting experiences" with friends and neighbours in the colony, and had to lament the bringing of one thing, the not bringing of another; having superintended the outfitting preparations of some dozens of emigrant relatives and friends; and having now outfitted three several times myself, I think I may say that I have (to my cost) purchased enough practical experience in the matter to enable me pretty safely to guide the Tyro through what has well been called the "Outfit-maze."

The reader will please to understand that the outfit articles named hereafter are those which I regard as constituting about the happy mean in an outfit for the majority of small capitalist middle-class emigrants. Any one who regards his own as a peculiar or exceptional, case, can of course make such alterations as may seem good to him, and take fewer things, more things, or different things.

Outfit is best considered under two heads, viz., domestic and clothing outfit, and miscellaneous outfit. The advisability of taking what may be termed "speculative outfit," such as articles

for sale (where, for instance, the emigrant may be in business, and have on hand certain stock-in-trade), depends so much on the description of the articles, and on the peculiar views and circumstances of the individual, that it is a question on which no general advice can possibly be given; and here, I can only say, that if such question should arise with any of my readers, I should be happy (if still in the country) to supply any information in my power, on application being made to me at the address just given.

Domestic Outfit.—When a family is about to emigrate, they generally call in the auctioneer, and bring the whole plenishing of the house to the hammer. This, for the most part, in New Zealand emigration, is an error. Many necessary or useful little articles are sacrificed for 50*l.* or 100*l.*, which, on arrival in the colony, may have to be replaced at a cost of some 150*l.* or 200*l.* We do not go to New Zealand to live in a tree, or to eat from a tub; and some little plenishing for a house and home is just as necessary there, as here. The sight, too, of some old article of furniture, piano, book, or picture, often lends a homely charm to the new dwelling in the new land which is actually *profitable*. If my hints are taken, the mere trouble of packing-up and taking a few of our best things, our Lares and Penates, is not worth naming; whilst as to the *expense*, the expense is to be counted as a mere item of outlay, from which there will be reaped a good £ *s. d.* return. A New Zealand emigrant family in taking out a few articles of the furniture and fittings of their house would take them not to *sell* but to *use*—but if, foolishly, they chose to sell them they would find plenty of buyers. The reason, the cause, of this is plain. The pioneer colonists who led the way to New Zealand took little with them but strong hands and stout hearts; most of these people are now in easy circumstances—building good houses, smartening-up their homes, making themselves comfortable—and little articles of parlour furniture, little ornamental nick-nacks, &c., are the very things they often want but cannot often procure. Such things as these do not generally enter into the common category of commercial exports from this country, while to get many of them *made* in the colony would often be impossible. There

is the demand, the non-supply, and the necessary consequence, the high price. A relative of mine received fifty acres of fine land for an old piano; for Landseer's "Challenge," I was once offered more than the reader would believe; the arrival of a handsome cheffonier, a Turkey carpet, a new bonnet or baby-cap, would excite every colonist's wife for a week; and if it came to be a question of *selling*, I believe that almost every article named below, with all freight and charges added, would generally be found to realize 100*l.* per cent. more in the colony than it would have done had it been knocked down at auction at home.

I would advise any family, then, breaking up a small household, having a sale, and going to New Zealand with a capital of a thousand or two, or even a few hundred pounds, to pick out and take with them all or some of the following articles. Any little matters of plate, and an assortment of their *best* cutlery, glass, earthenware, cooking utensils, and table linen; a *best* table, set of chairs, drawers or cheffonier; a *best* carpet, one or two hearth-rugs, any handsome window curtains, one or two good mirrors, and a fender or two; together with a *small* selection of their best books, prints, chimney ornaments, and nick-nacks. Drowsy matrimonial four-posters give place, in Zealandia, to iron bedsteads and hardy hair mattresses—but ladies can take their feather beds if they prefer them, and will of course not forget the blankets; and if they happen to have a good cottage cabinet piano that may well be taken too, either as freight, or as suggested at page 295.

Of course any youth or bachelor emigrant going out to live with some colonist, and gain a year's experience before commencing for himself, would not require this "domestic outfit;" and would only take the wardrobe, together with any of the little things he might fancy in the miscellaneous list at page 269.

PACKING.—A freight (measurement) ton is any case or package cubing 40 feet; and this measurement is obtained simply by multiplying the *length* of the case by its *height* and then by its *breadth*: thus, a case 4½ feet long, 3 feet high, and 3 feet broad, would measure a fraction more than a ton: $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3 = 13\frac{1}{2} \times 3 = 40\frac{1}{2}$ cubic feet. One case, about this size, would pack six chairs with some of the small articles. A second case, some-

what larger, but differently shaped, would take the table and (underneath) many more small articles; and a third (zinc-lined) ton case (shaped as might best suit) would generally hold the remainder of all the smaller and most perishable or valuable house-things, together with such best articles of wardrobe (Papa's black coat and Rose Ada's silks and satins) as would not be needed on the voyage. Such three cases are best made of good red inch deal board, well nailed and battened; and the third, or "safe case," should *invariably* be zinc-lined and carefully soldered air-tight. Small drawers may generally be taken in a chief cabin; but of course if a piano or cheffonier be taken in addition, a *fourth* ton or ton-and-a-half case would be needed. In packing a case, say for instance where many little articles, such as glass, cooking utensils, small oddments of furniture and ornaments are going together, the numerous little holes and chinks cannot be filled up better than with clean grass seed (see page 214), and in packing it will be found advisable to keep all the cases as *small* as possible; for a one-ton case is landed and moved about in New Zealand far more easily than a three-ton one. Casks are exceedingly useful about a colonial farm-house: cut in two, they form washing-tubs, pickle-tubs, or seed-tubs; and any extra small articles of the outfit may be advantageously packed in one or two good barrels.

Generally speaking, the family emigrant might calculate that this little "domestic outfit" would require from three to five cases, measuring from four to seven tons, and costing altogether (making, land-carriage, and freight) say about 50*l*. Any handy journeyman carpenter could knock up the cases, and advise and assist in the packing; and the whole job (papa, mama, boys and girls, all hands helping) might easily be finished off in a week. Where rather a large or valuable selection of small matters, pieces of furniture, and odds and ends, has been made, and the family should have any fears or doubts as to the "packing process," the best and cheapest plan is to order the cases of one of the London case-makers and cabin-fitters, and get him to send down with them a regular professional packer, who would superintend and assist in all packing arrangements. *Messrs. Shepherd and Co., the cabinet furniture and outfitting establishment, 90, Bishopsgate Street,* and Messrs. Goy and Evans, 36, Leadenhall Street,

frequently send cases and packers into the country; they furnish estimates of the expense, and are well known among Indian, Australian, and New Zealand emigrants for the despatch and economy with which they perform all they undertake.

On arrival in the particular settlement which they have chosen, the emigrant family of the small capitalist order, generally go into lodgings, or hire a cottage for a few months until they can get up some little place of their own. Such lodgings or cottages are generally unfurnished, when one or two of the cases are unpacked, and the contents at once brought into use. If not, if the family happened to get furnished lodgings, or to go into a boarding-house for a few weeks, the cases may be left at the landing wharf, and (now) warehoused there, at a moderate charge, for a month or so until wanted.

If Pater-familias would but follow the advice I here give him as to packing up a few odds and ends of his furniture and the like he would find himself, on getting on to his land and taking possession of his first rude dwelling, surrounded by a hundred useful and familiar little things which would marvellously smooth over the many petty difficulties and discomforts inseparable from the work of first "settling down." Indeed, the comfort of the *women-folk* is so promoted by the possession of these little odds and ends of "furniture and plenishing" that if there were any demur in the matter on Pater's part I would counsel every fair emigrant instantly to throw herself into a state of hysterical rebellion, and to refuse to come out of it until her alarmed lord had agreed to take them.

Shipping the Domestic Outfit.—If it be a country family proceeding out, say, for instance, by one of Messrs. Willis' liners, the right mode of shipping is this:—Have the owner's address, the place of destination, and the name of ship distinctly painted on each case; then nail on a card bearing the Ship-broker's address, and send the things up (carriage paid) by rail to such address, with a letter of advice. They then go direct to the docks, and are put on board in regular course; and the dock and shipping charges are settled for on paying the passage money. All passengers' goods and baggage should be sent up to the ship as *early* as possible. Emigrants' goods,

very properly, have place before mere merchants' shipments; but the latter often come to the docks in such quantity that when "passenger cases" do not make their appearance until the last day or so great risk is run of their being shut out and left for the next ship.

WARDROBE.—The emigrationary reader will observe that the following list is not made up of articles that he need buy *new* —but of what he should possess altogether. For instance, if the old wardrobe contained half a dozen good white shirts he would buy only *half* a dozen new ones; while if there were any outer clothing not exactly of the character described, but still good or serviceable, he would save his money and make such article do. Most men, dictated to by wives, mothers-in-law, sisters or sweethearts, are made to provide about three times as much clothing as is necessary, and will outfit as if they were going first to Central Africa and afterwards to the North Pole. I have seen men not ashamed to land in New Zealand with a wardrobe sufficient to stock a small shop. The feminine idea seems to be that the inevitable half-gross of shirts and flannels is necessary for the *voyage*. Now, in these days, seventeen weeks is a long passage; my last trip in Messrs. Willis's "Joseph Fletcher," was made in about twelve weeks; the average run is not more than a a hundred days; and owing partly to the purity of the sea air, partly to there being no work done on the voyage, no violent perspirations, linen may be worn at sea nearly twice as long as on land; and three ship-washable blue shirts a week are ample for any man who is fit for a colonist.

With this list before him, with pencil in hand, and wife or sister (under strict subjection) at his elbow, ten minutes should enable any emigrant reader to tick off the number of new things to be bought; while as to the *quality* of what he buys, I would observe that whilst "cheap shops" are a curse to any community where they exist, they are fatal to emigrants, and would remind him that every single article of a New Zealand colonist's outfit, from his wife's slippers up to a steam-thrashing mill, cannot be too plain and simple in mere fashion, but cannot be too good in quality of material and excellence of workmanship.

## LIST.

| | Rough estimate. £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Dozen best white shirts, at 6*s.* 6*d.* | 3 | 18 | 0 |
| 1 „ „ coloured ditto, at 4*s.* 6*d.* | 2 | 14 | 0 |
| 2 „ worsted and merino socks, at 1*s.* 6*d.* | 1 | 16 | 0 |
| 2 „ good pocket handkerchiefs | 2 | 10 | 0 |
| 1 „ coarse towels | 0 | 12 | 0 |
| ½ „ pair gloves, mixed, cloth and dog skin | 0 | 15 | 0 |
| 2 or 3 Felt hats, a good pilot south-wester, and a blue cloth cap: hats, happily, are not worn in New Zealand | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 Pairs Wellington boots—one pair light; the other made stout and waterproof, and loose and easy for thick stockings, and slightly *nailed*, for gripping the wet and slippery ship decks when moving about in bad weather | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 3 Pairs stout nailed highlows (the Highland grouse boot is a capital sort), and a pair of Edinburgh gutta-percha deck boots | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 Good warm overcoat, a regular rough-and-ready dreadnought, with plenty of outer (flap) pockets | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 Edmiston's siphonia, or some waterproof light overcoat | 1 | 10 | 0 |
| 1 Dress suit for "state occasions:" such as dining with the Governor and waltzing with his daughters | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 Blue surtout and vest for common dress wear | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| 1 Scotch tweed shooting coat and waistcoat | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 2 Best blue frock serge shirts; these sent to the tailor, the collar *silk* covered (if for a dandy), gilt buttons, edged with braid, a breast pocket, and two front skirt pockets put in make, made loose, light, easy, and cool, yet warm garments, admirably adapted for bush wear | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Carried forward | 37 | 15 | 0 |

| | Rough estimate. £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Brought forward | 37 | 15 | 0 |
| 6 Pairs of trousers: say, two shepherd's plaid tweed, two navy duck, and two best corduroy or fustian, all made loose and easy . . . . . | 4 | 10 | 0 |
| Waist belt, swimming belt, and one of Edmiston's patent "ground sheets"—an admirable article for deck use and New Zealand travelling . . | 1 | 15 | 0 |
| | 44 | 0 | 0 |
| Deduct, say about half, for the contribution which the emigrant's common wardrobe would generally be found to supply . . . . . | 24 | 0 | 0 |
| Balance to buy . . | 20 | 0 | 0 |

Hair mattresses (if beds are not taken) according to the number and requirements of the family; and if flannel is worn, some flannel or merino shirts must be added to the white and coloured.

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The above, I regard as being a liberal or sufficient provision for any adult chief, or second, cabin passenger. Working men and steerage passengers will manage well enough with the following items:—

MEN.—6 shirts; 6 pairs socks or stockings (half worsted); 2 warm flannel or Guernsey shirts; 2 pair good stout shoes; 2 complete suits of outer clothing; 1 Scotch cap, and a south-wester or good felt hat. Cost, say, 3*l.* 11*s.* 0*d.*

WOMEN.—6 shifts; 6 pairs stockings (half worsted); 2 good flannel petticoats; 2 pairs strong shoes; 2 strong gowns, one to be warm; 1 good warm shawl, or a warm cloak, *best made with a hood.* Cost, say, 3*l.* 6*s.* 0*d.*

CHILDREN.—7 shifts or shirts; 4 flannel waistcoats; 1 warm cloak, or outside coat; 6 pairs stockings; 2 pairs strong shoes; 2 suits of outer clothing. Cost, say, 2*l.* 16*s.* 0*d.*

Beds, or good new mattresses (the latter are preferable), should be of these dimensions :—Men's, 6 feet by 20 inches; women's, 5 feet by 18 inches; married couples', 6 feet by 36 inches. Two pillows, two blankets, four sheets, and one counterpane should be provided for every bed. Cost of mattress and bedding for one person, 17*s.* 6*d.*

A brush and comb, 4 towels, 4 lbs. marine soap, and a canvas clothes-bag for each steerage adult. Cost, 9*s.* 0*d.* The outfit is subject to examination by the Government Officer at the port of embarkation, and no passenger is permitted to embark who has not made a sufficient provision for health and comfort.

LADIES' OUTFIT.—Mr. Earp, in his work on New Zealand, with a boldness bordering on temerity, grappled even with the slippery subject of a Lady's Outfit; and, with a circumstantiality almost affecting, went deeply into the details of cambric trousers, horse-hair petticoats, nightcaps, and violet powder. As a benighted bachelor, I do not venture to follow so brilliant, I fear so useless, an example. I apprehend that the compilation and explanation of a "Lady's Outfit" might task the powers even of the learned author of "Things Little Known;" and the labour, for all *practical* purposes, would probably be quite a nullity when accomplished. The notions of the sex on the question of outfit, are somewhat discursive and independent. One despotic woman, taking out her husband, insisted that 285 towels and a large Newfoundland dog were necessary to her existence; while another fair friend sketched an outfit which was computed to measure some ton and a quarter extra freight. Indeed, I should imagine that the best course which Pater-familias could here adopt would be to ask his wife and daughters to write down the *least* they must have, and then to buy them about half thereof—hinting that beauty unadorned is adorned the most; and that *natural*, not artificial roses are worn in the new Land he will lead them to.

In providing such outer-clothing portion of this wardrobe as dress suit and boots, I should prefer going to my own regular tailor or bootmaker. But all other articles, such as new shirts and inner clothing, and the various small matters, &c. &c., are

best obtained at some respectable outfitter's, practically acquainted with the New Zealand trade, and familiar with our various little emigrationary fitments and equipments; and as emigrants from the country are frequently bewildered, on arriving in London, with the multitude of shops they see, and as some of these, spite of their size, plate-glass and glitter, are little other than mere "slop shops," I may perhaps do some of my readers a service by saying that, I think, there are no better houses in London for supplying the few things of "clothing outfit" he may require, than Messrs. Goy and Evans,* 36, Leadenhall Street; Messrs. Monneroy and Co., 165, Fenchurch Street; and Messrs. Lack and Co., 90, Strand—three establishments which do a large New Zealand, Indian, and Australian outfitting business; and where, speaking from experience, I have found the quality of the articles excellent, and well adapted for New Zealand wear and tear.

MISCELLANEOUS OUTFIT.—Here, again, as at page 198, when naming a few of the best agricultural implements, I would observe that in framing the lists over leaf for the use of my emigrant readers I am looking mainly at the common case of families who, having a little capital, go out with the settled view of buying land, building a house, and creating a little estate. Emigrants, such as young men and others, going out to join friends, or to seek employment, or to look at the country, together with speculators, traders, and others who are likely to engage in some town-dwelling occupation, cannot, as a rule, take too few things in the shape of outfit, and would require or take few or none of the various articles I have enumerated, save, perhaps, two or three of the things in list B which might seem useful to them.

Some of the articles I have put down in these lists, could of course be purchased in the colony; but on the average they would be some 75*l.* per cent dearer there; while it should be remembered that many of the British manufactured articles which find their

* This establishment, too, is also much frequented by Lady emigrants, inasmuch as two of the principals are themselves of the gentle sex, and have had many years' experience in fitting out ladies and children for New Zealand, India, and Australia.

way to New Zealand are the "culls" of the Australian markets. Whether, too, it be that the commercial morality of the Sydney and Melbourne speculators, commission agents, Jew brokers, and the like, is not of the highest order, or whether it be that these gentlemen are the victims of mistakes, certain it is that many a patent and popular article—such as Bass's ale, Richards' hardware, Ransomes' implements, Sharp's axes, Truman's stout, &c. &c.—reaches New Zealand so little altered in appearance, perhaps, *but so sadly impaired in constitution*, that I fear Messrs. Bass, Richards, Ransomes and Co., if they could only see and *test* their reputed progeny, would often have to disown a spurious offspring, and to declare that such articles were never turned out from *their* establishments. This is one of the reasons, and one which seems frequently overlooked, why the New Zealand emigrant, though not forgetting that every sovereign he can carry to New Zealand may be the mother of ten, should provide himself with a few really useful and genuine articles of outfit. By taking the trouble, too, to get a few standard articles of equipment direct from the English warehouse, not only does the emigrant get them *genuine*, but as before observed, he gets them *cheaper;* for if he buys the things in this country he pays only *one* profit, whereas buying them in the Colony, after they have passed through two or three hands, he, of course, pays two or three profits—the mere freight and shipping charges being virtually paid by him, the consumer, in *either* or any case.

If, then, having a thousand or a few hundred pounds, I were now going to New Zealand with the view of buying a bit of land, building a cottage, and creating a little estate, I should take all the articles in list A, and some in list B; while if my capital were larger I should take every article in both lists.

A.

| | IN-DOOR USE. | COST. £ | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | The New Zealand Stove, 3 large iron crocks, meat saw, chopper, butcher's knives, steelyards, scales, perforated zinc for meat safe, filter, brushes and pails . . . . | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| | American churn and dairy utensils. . . . . | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| | Richards' Emigrants' Washing Machine, and (combined) Mangle and Wringing Machine . . . . . | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| | Iron bedsteads, according to size of family, (say) . . | 5 | 0 | 0. |

OUT-DOOR USE.

| | COST. £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 2.—The New Zealand Tool Chest | 7 | 7 | 0 |
| 3.—American axes, 3; billhooks, 3; grindstone; cross-cut saws, 2; set of steel splitting wedges, timber chain and dogs, crowbar, and screw-wrench | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| Measuring tape and chain, set of garden tools | 1 | 17 | 0 |
| Set of pulley blocks and rope, large tarpauling and a dozen sacks, bull's-eye and stable lantern | 6 | 4 | 0 |
| 4.—One front and four inner doors, half a dozen iron casement sashes, fitted in wooden frames, and a box of glass | 11 | 4 | 0 |
| A small assortment of wrought-iron nails and spikes, door and gate hinges, bolts, locks, pegs, and latches | 5 | 0 | 0 |
| 5.—Richards' New Zealand Farm Cart | 13 | 13 | 0 |
| Harness suitable for ditto | 5 | 10 | 0 |

B.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 6.—Richards' New Zealand dog cart and harness | 28 | 0 | 0 |
| One of Richards' best Colonial saddles, fitted with saddle-bags and rings, before and behind, for blanket straps, and a double bridle | 6 | 0 | 0 |
| (A side-saddle, if there be a lady.) | | | |
| A good race glass, most useful for exploring and discovering strayed sheep and cattle, and a barometer | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| 7.—Gun and Enfield Rifle | 10 | 4 | 0 |
| A few iron glass enamelled fluid-holding articles | 2 | 0 | 0 |
| Lift pump with pipe | 3 | 10 | 0 |
| 8.—Brewing and Washing Copper, in iron frame, and brewing utensils | 7 | 0 | 0 |
| 9.—Some corrugated iron roofing stuff, and iron rod and wire, for porch or verandah | 6 | 0 | 0 |

The ships' measurement of the cases holding all the articles in list A, would be about three tons; that of the cases for all the articles in list B, about five tons.

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REMARKS.—1. The emigrant should remember that the roughness of first settling down in the bush is always felt far more by the women of the party than by the men; and that, as servants are scarce, anything he can do to lighten the daily in-door work of the house by providing his wife and daughters with any labour-saving domestic machinery or improved utensils, such as are named here, will prove of signal service both to them and to him. Of course, if any of the minor articles enumerated here,

should happen to be found among the things of the "Domestic outfit," described at page 260, they would not have to be purchased; while, on the other hand, assuming that there had been no household broken up, and no selection made of table cutlery, earthenware, &c., these things would have to be provided in *addition* to the minor articles I have named in item 1.

2. Having apprenticed myself to a carpenter for a year before I left England for New Zealand, and having been chief workman in the erection of various little buildings there, I have learnt that a few good tools are exceedingly useful to the emigrant, and have therefore made out for him a short list of the most useful things for a New Zealand tool-chest—not a glittering little gimcrack tool-chest such as slop-outfitters display to the kid-gloved emigrant; but a chest containing a dozen or two of those strong useful tools; enabling a man to lend a hand in executing the little rough carpentry jobs which are ever occurring in New Zealand in the work of converting a few hundred acres of wild land into a little estate, with its cottage-homestead and out-buildings.

3. Whether it be on bush land or in open country, there will almost always be found timber enough on or near the farm to make these articles exceedingly useful in the work of getting out fencing stuff and firewood.

4. Cases occur where a small iron house is taken out with advantage, and used as the first (or as a *portion* of the first) ruder dwelling which the settler will put up on his land. But the advisability of taking a complete little house depends so much on the locality to which the family may be going that no general advice can be given on the point; and, here, I can only repeat what I have said before at page 257.

The reason why the half-dozen cheap doors and windows are recommended is this: in putting up the wooden cob, slab, or raupo cottage, in which the settler will house his family for the first year or so, a large portion of the common work can often be done by himself, or by some member of his party, or by some half carpenter, half labourer, whom he would employ; whereas neither the settler nor any of his "helps," would generally be found competent to undertake that higher branch of carpentry implied in the making of doors and windows.

5. This is an admirable article for New Zealand use, and at the same time makes a capital packing-case for many of the small articles.

6. The dog-cart, made strong and roomy, is one of the best styles of carriage for New Zealand use, serving alike to carry butter, eggs, poultry, fruit, and small produce to town on market day, and to convey the children to neighbours' party or to distant church. The roomy spring cart made so as to carry a hood in rainy weather, is also a most useful sort of conveyance, while emigrants of large families and larger means might, I think, often take the new two-horse waggonette, (fitted with a hood,) in preference or in addition to either dog-cart or spring cart.

7. The next generation of colonists may very possibly beat stubble and cover for partridge and pheasant, stalk the deer, and hunt the fox; but in these days New Zealand offers us no field sports worthy of the name

Nevertheless, the Settler may frequently knock over wood pigeon and wild duck, for the larder, or hawk or buzzard, harrying the poultry, and may well spend a few pounds in a good gun. An oilskin pocket cover, for wet bush travelling, might be provided, together with a bag or two of No. 4 shot, two or three boxes of caps, extra nipples and pouch, flask and cleaning apparatus. Powder cannot be taken in common packages, and is best obtained in the colony, or put up with the cartridges, and placed in the ship's magazine. As to the rifle, we may remark that by virtue of the new and just ideas now taking root, that. "the defence of colonies" should be the mutual work of colonies and mother country, New Zealand will probably year by year increase her volunteer corps. At the late skirmish at Waireki, where the rebel natives sustained the heaviest dicomfiture ever yet inflicted on them, a handful of New Plymouth lads armed with the Enfield, and a few most gallant blue jackets, did all the work, and enabled the leader of the military to get his men safe back to their beds without the loss of even a cartridge-box: not a brilliant, but still a consolatory feat of war. Looking, then, at the desirability of establishing a good volunteer force in New Zealand, both as a means of defence against any outer foes, and as a means of promoting Christianity and civilization among our missionary natives, and recollecting that a young wild pig may now and then prove a most toothsome addition to the larder, I would advise every family now going to New Zealand to find a place among their stores for an Enfield and some ammunition.

8. This will be found a most useful article for the women on washing day, and will sometimes be used for a little brewing. A good barrel or two of home-brewed, is a good thing at wool-clipping and harvest time; and a careful perusal of "Cobbett's Cottage Economy," would enable any one, after one or two failures, to brew a glass of ale which the late Mr. Drummond, or Cobbett, himself, would have pronounced good.

9. A snug peach and rose covered verandah, or porch, is a nice and easily obtained addition to a New Zealand cottage, and with a little framing and roofing-stuff at hand, any man worth his salt could easily put up something of this sort for his wife in his leisure hours after tea. Speaking of the ornamental, too, and addressing myself to naval readers, and men of taste, I may remark that they might well provide themselves with the "Union Jack," and "St. George's Cross," together with gear for a flag-staff: a flag-staff with vine and rattling ladder, planted on some little eminence near the cottage makes a good look-out; and the flags, run up on Sundays, high days, and holidays, and fluttering in the breeze amid the beautiful foliage, are a sight worth a walk to see.

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Of course, as before observed, if any of the items in A or B were supplied by the old domestic outfit, described at page 260, they would not have to be bought. Such an emigrant family as I am here alluding to, would require in their own establishment all the A articles, and might profitably use many of the B; but

if, owing to any change of plans on arrival, they preferred *selling* any portion of this miscellaneous outfit, they would, I think, have no difficulty in realizing a nett profit of at least 25*l.* per cent. on all the articles I have named, provided always that the things had been well bought and properly selected.

This Miscellaneous Outfit, or any portion of it which may be wanted, cannot, I think, be obtained better than at Messrs. Richards and Co.'s, 117 and 118, Bishopsgate Street, London. This is one of those old experienced wholesale houses in the colonial implement and wholesale hardware trade where the peculiar sorts, makes and shapes, of Australian and New Zealand articles are practically understood; and where packing (close packing to save freight and safe packing to avoid breakage) is found to be much better executed than it is at the common run of country shops, where little or no practical experience has been gained in this important process.

This Firm, too, will also receive and pack with their own things (free of expense), any other outfit articles which may be sent to their care: an arrangement which frequently saves the emigrant much trouble in doing away with that cumbersome multiplicity of little packages and parcels which families, from the country in particular, find so troublesome to look after in London, and which is such a nuisance to every one on landing in the colony.

Printed priced catalogues are forwarded to any quarter by post; and though two or three of the articles I have named, such as Wagonette, Galvanized Iron, and Barometer, are not, I think, kept in stock, they would always be carefully procured to order, and packed up with other things.*

Taking Money.—Emigrants have three modes of taking out their money. The Union Bank of Australia, 38, Old Broad Street, London, has branches at Auckland, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago, on which it grants letters of credit at par, or at a small premium: that is, if "at par," on paying a

* It is only justice to this house to add that some few picked articles which they supplied me with on my late visit to New Zealand were excellent in quality, and were eagerly bought up by my colonial friends at prices which left me a clear profit of full 50*l.* per cent.

hundred pounds, or any sum, to the bank in London, the payee gets a "letter of credit," in duplicate, entitling him to receive a hundred pounds in gold at the branch bank in New Zealand. The Oriental Bank Corporation, Threadneedle Street, London, has also now established a branch at Auckland and Wellington, on which it gives drafts. The second mode is to ship sovereigns in a little box or bag in the ship, as "special freight," to take a bill of lading, and to *insure* the amount. The freight and insurance together is about 2*l.* per cent.; and on production of the bill of lading, on arrival, the passenger at once receives back his sovereigns from the commander of the vessel. The third mode is simply to put up the gold (little sealed packages, "Rouleaux," ten sovereigns in each, is a handy mode of doing it up), stow it away in the private cabin or sleeping berth, and run one's own risk.

*All* these modes are virtually safe and secure; and little cash capitals of from 50*l.* to 200*l.* may be taken out by any one of them. When, however, the amount is larger, I should deem it more prudent to avail myself of *each* mode; and assuming the sum were 1000*l.*, would take some 500*l.* in letter of credit, 300 sovereigns as insured "special freight," and 200 in my private desk.

Bank notes should never be taken. They are not current: an unexceptional 10*l.* Bank of England note which I once happened to possess lay by me several months before I could get rid of it.

Letters of Introduction.—Good letters of introduction are sometimes useful; but no one need trouble himself to obtain them, and any one may go without them. The real use of "introductions" is generally misunderstood: no letters of introduction will insure, or even materially aid, a man's rise in New Zealand—for that, he must trust mainly to his own head and hands. But when a man is going to land a perfect stranger in a new country, and though he may soon make "troops of friends" there, yet 'tis pleasant *at once* to be made known to two or three good colonists to whom letters may have introduced him. These people won't pay for the land he may buy, they won't give him bed and board, or get him made Superintendent

of a province, beadle, policeman, or provincial attorney. But if he be a decent sort of fellow, they will ask him to take fortune du pôt, now and then, or an evening pipe; and will tell him a dozen little things most useful to him to know in his first work of "settling down."

Wherever, therefore, "introductory letters" can be obtained without much trouble I would advise a person to take them. They occupy no room as freight; and if, on arrival, the people to whom they are addressed should prove to be persons not worth knowing the bearer can toss them into the fire and no one will be the worse for the burning.

TAKING SERVANTS.—A small-capitalist family would now generally do well to take out a useful servant or two, or something in the shape of "labour help." The common cry raised against such a step is this:—O! on arrival, your "help" is free and saucy, and, seeking other service, leaves you in a month minus the 20*l.* you paid for his or her passage-money. This cry, like many others, borders on the bray. If, as the head of an emigrant family, I say to some man or maid-of-all-work, "Come with me to New Zealand, and I will give you, John, 20*l.* a-year, and you, Mary, 10*l.* a-year;" and if on arrival, my "helps" find that every other John and Mary are getting *double* these wages, and if I will give no more than I bargained to give, of *course* they leave me—and in so doing serve me right. But if among my country friends, or among some old retainers or servants of my family, I choose to devote a week or two to the task of finding up some pattern John or Mary, and say, "Come with me, and on arrival I will give you the wages which we find common there, and half thereof shall be deducted till your passage-money is repaid me," it is reasonably certain that my "help" would stay with me not for ever, but quite long enough to be of considerable use to me during the busy year or so of my first "settling down," and would repay me every penny of the money I had advanced on his or her account.*

* For the benefit of any lady readers, I may here remark that one of my sisters took out an excellent London servant with her, chiefly to assist in slapping the children and keeping things neat on board. Hannah's passage was, I think, given to her, and she remained about two

In making choice of any domestic servant or farm labourer, the reader should bear in mind that it is more important to choose an honest, useful sort of person, than any very quick, clever, or dexterous person. Labour is so much wanted with us, there is so much to do so, few to do it, that the almost finical finish, bestowed in England on half the common operations of life, is not demanded in New Zealand, and the best man there is not the man who can do *one* thing *thoroughly* well, but the man who can do *six* things *middling* well. The best sort of female servant is the country maid of all work: one who would do a little in the dairy, a little in the kitchen, and a little on the washing day.

These remarks apply chiefly to emigrant families with capitals of from 500*l.* to 1000*l.*, who, going out to buy land and gradually create little estates, would fain strengthen their own "labour forces" by the addition of some stout farm servant, some handy Jack of all trades, or useful Maid of all work. But in discussing the question of the capitalist emigrant carrying out labour with him, I think we might extend our view of the subject beyond this mere domestic hired-service limit, and ask whether labour could not occasionally be taken out in advantageous *partnership-alliance* with capital? Whether, for instance, B, a single, or young married, emigrant, with a 1000*l.* or so, could not advantageously take C, a picked first-class married labourer with a couple of stout sons and daughters, as a sort of emigrant partner? Let us suppose a case. Let us assume that C's passage and outfit to New Zealand cost 200*l.*; that 400 acres of wild land were bought for 300*l.*; that the erection of two cottages on the land, the purchase of agricultural implements and stock, and the advance of 50*l.* to 100*l.* to C (for housekeeping till the first tilled acres had produced something), amounted to 500*l.* more; and that thus, B's gross outlay on what we may term the raw

years in service, when she married a substantial yeoman, a man who had come to New Zealand an agricultural labourer. I have heard my sister say, however, that this "help" was of such great service to her in the work of "settling down," moving on to the land and getting things in order, that it was *cheap* help after all; and that she would advise every lady, especially the mother of a young family, to bring out some good general servant, even if it were calculated that such servant would not stay in her place more than a year.

plant of the Partnership were 1000*l.* Taking 25*l.* per cent.* as a fair rate of interest on this sum, B's annual contribution to the mutual cultivation and creation of the estate would be 250*l.* in *capital*—C's and his family's daily labour on the land and in the dairy, &c. (recollecting that he and his are energetically working for themselves as partners), might fairly be reckoned as an annual contribution to the cultivation and creation of the estate of about 250*l.* in *labour*. The annual profits of the estate would then be equally divided between B and C; and whenever a dissolution of partnership occurred, the property would be sold; and after B had received back the 1000*l.* he had originally invested in the "raw plant," the balance of the proceeds would be equally divided between himself and C.

These figures, though pretty correct I think, are mere rough figures taken to illustrate my idea of "Emigration-partnerships" of Capital and Labour. The principle of the idea is of course applicable to an enterprise of any (moderate) magnitude: the capital might be 1500*l.*, the land 500 acres, and the labour, a labourer's family counting seven pairs of working hands instead of five; or the capital might be only 500*l.*, the land 200 acres, and the labour force merely a labourer and his wife.

"The key-stone" of the success of such partnerships would lie mainly in the personal character and qualifications of the labourer and his family. Now I do not imagine that the labourer of Burns's "Cotter's Saturday Night" was a very common village ornament either in Burns's day or in any other day; but so far as my experience of rural life in England goes I should say that in almost every village there is to be found some clever agricultural labourer standing out, as it were, from his fellows; a man who has borne a local reputation for industry and honesty for years; and a man whom, in the work of creating an estate from the New Zealand bush, I should infinitely prefer as a partner to many of my social equals.

One of the strongest desires of civilised human nature is to possess land: this desire is particularly strong in the English

* Counting B's occasional light labour help in the field, his general superintendence of the joint estate, book-keeping, &c., and recollecting that the common rate of interest on money is 10*l.* and 15*l.* per cent., this would not be too much.

emigrant labourer; and if I only secured a good foundation for my enterprise by making a good selection of my labour-partner, I should calculate that one of my duties in the mutual creation of the joint estate would be not the duty of *stimulating* my partner and his family to work, but rather the duty of *checking* them from working *too hard*—for they would know that every blow they struck was for *themselves;* they would know that half the dairy, half the harvest, half the fleece was for themselves; and that every second acre they tore from the wilderness, and conquered by the plough, was to be their own well-earned prize. Such a family, we may rest assured, would not be idlers; and such a family might well illustrate Old Fuller's quaint apophthegm, that "the good yeoman is a gentlemen in ore, whom the next generation may see refined."

## CHAPTER XV.

### HOW TO GET TO NEW ZEALAND.

THERE are now two regular lines of passenger packets between London and New Zealand: Messrs. Willis, Gann and Co.'s, 3, Crosby Square, Bishopsgate; and Messrs. Shaw and Savill's, 34, Leadenhall Street. The vessels employed in these lines are fine first-class ships, of from 1000 to 1500 tons burden, well commanded and equipped, carrying surgeons, and sailing, throughout the year, about once a fortnight. Some of them are quite capable of making the run in about eighty days; which, as the New Zealand voyage is nearly 2000 miles longer than the Australian, is equal to a run of about seventy days to Sydney or Melbourne.

The rates of passage and freight vary a little from time to time, but the usual charges, including provisions,* are about as follows:—

| | |
|---|---|
| Chief cabin | per head 50*l.* |
| Second cabin | „ 25*l.* |
| Steerage | „ 17*l.* to 20*l.* |
| Children under twelve years | „ half price. |
| Infants under twelve months | „ free. |
| Freight | per ton 3*l.* |

Chief cabin passengers carry half a ton, and second cabin and steerage quarter of a ton of luggage, free of any freight charge.

At intervals, too, of a month or so, a vessel is also despatched to Otago from Glasgow; and one to Auckland (generally calling first at Melbourne), from Liverpool.

New Zealand may now also be reached by steam in about sixty-five days. One of the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamers leaves Southampton for India, *viâ* the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, on the 20th of every month: at Point de Galle it is met by a branch steamer which proceeds to Melbourne, where this vessel is met by another steamer running

* Wines, bottled ale, and spirits are put on board, and supplied, by the steward, at reasonable rates.

direct on to New Zealand. The Australian and New Zealand mails are carried by this route, and occasionally some holiday-making New Zealand minister, or some wealthy young colonist coming home for a pretty wife, prize ram, or race horse, will visit England this way. But the frequent shiftings of goods and baggage, and the higher charges made in steamers than in sailing vessels, necessarily close this line against the emigrant; whilst the rapacity of those sordid monopolists, the Directors of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, has closed it equally against the Australian and New Zealand public.

The true ocean highway from Europe to the noble emigration fields of New Zealand and Australia, and to the great Australian "gold fields," is the route by Panama, as marked on the accompanying map. This route is about one-sixth nearer in actual mileage than the present Suez route; while, looking at the comparatively tranquil character of the South Pacific, and at certain advantages in respect to winds, it would be some one-third nearer in virtual travelling time. The opening of this route, too, would be the opening of a new world to our commerce. While for nearly half its length it is already the great direct road to Columbia and California, it would pass through the ocean washing the shores of the rich unrified countries of New Granada, Ecuador, Bolivia, Chili, and Peru—it would approach the Sandwich Islands, the Fejees, and the young French colonies of Oceana—it would thread its way through hundreds of fertile islands now slumbering in their summer seas, but which need only the magic touch of Steam to awaken them to their wealth, and to turn them into producers of oils, ores, gums, dyes, sugars, cottons, and many a staple of export trade—and it would be a route running through salubrious latitudes; and a great, free, open, ocean route which the complications of foreign war could never close.

The Ministry of Louis XV. thought that Canada was "a few acres of snow"—the Ministry of Queen Victoria appear to think that our noble group of Australasian colonies is but the dwelling-place of a handful of drunken diggers. Restitution of Pacifico clothes-bags, squeaks and squabbles of Lilliput German courts, pacifications of Ionia, or other little pot soon hot—*these*, and the like, are the subjects which claim the

attention and task the powers of a British Ministry; and our fifty colonies and our seven millions of colonists are small deer, who may stand on the back stairs and be served after their betters. Had it not been for this, had any Government of the last ten years been able to forget the babble of the nursery, and to awaken to the fact that Europe was no longer the world, this great "Panama Highway" through the South Pacific, despite the wretched jealousies of the muddle-headed men of Victoria and South Australia, would have been opened long ago, and given us easy access to countries richer in the raw materials of wealth than Belgium added to Germany and Germany put to France.*

The following communication from an old and influential New Zealand Colonist is so good an exposition of the whole question of the Panama Route, that, pressed as I am for space, I present it to the reader:—

### The Panama Route.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE "NEW ZEALAND EXAMINER."

Sir,—I enclose for publication a correspondence between the Chairman of the Postal Packet and Telegraph Committee and myself, in the hope that colonists who are in this country, and who are favourable to the Panama route, will at once come forward and petition the Imperial Government to be heard before the committee which is now sitting. Is it not worth our while to move publicly in the matter? Are we to be as apathetic for the next seven years as we have been for the last five, and allow the Government to believe that we care little whether we have the Panama route or not: Are we quietly to allow a new and fortnightly line to come into operation, which will be of little or no use to New South Wales, Queensland, or New Zealand? The exposure which has lately taken place before the Postal Packet Committee, not only this, but last session, regarding the renewal of the Dover, the Cunard, and the Galway contract, will, I am

* It would, however, be ungracious not to admit that the Prince's visit to the American colonies has been a right royal recognition of the value and importance of colonies; and the best thing the Ministry could now do would be to let the Prince inaugurate the opening of a Great Panama Route to the Southern Gold Fields, become the first Royal Passenger, and go to receive as warm a welcome in Australasia as he did in America.

inclined to believe, much favour the Australasian colonies. Having attended the Postal Packet Committee every day of its sitting, except two days, I fancy I can give almost as good an opinion on the subject of the inquiry as any member of the Committee, and my opinion would be simply this:—In place of the heads of the several Government departments being the chief parties to grant contracts, it appears that the privileges have been allowed to the financial and private secretaries and chief clerks. The blue book of the report of evidence taken, when published, will be a very curious document, and well worth perusal. Some of the contracts of hundreds of thousands of pounds sterling, money which has been lavished on pet steam-packet companies for the conveyance of mails to foreign countries will, I trust, before long be cancelled. Then, and not till then, will there be considered sufficient subsidising money left to convey the colonial mails. If four or five influential Eastern Australian colonists will meet me, and name their own place of meeting, before it is too late, I think, with but little trouble, we may effect our wishes, and get what we are fairly entitled to, the Panama route—more especially as New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand, have positively refused to subsidise the fortnightly line *viâ* Suez. Hoping these few lines will cause immediate action,

I remain yours obediently,

WALTER BRODIE.

15, *Delamere Terrace, Hyde Park, W.*
*April* 28, 1860.

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TO THE HON. THE CHAIRMAN OF THE POSTAL PACKET COMMITTEE.

15, *Delamere-terrace, Hyde-park, W., April 2nd*, 1860.

SIR,—Last June the Government tenders, which had been advertised for the previous six months, for the conveyance of mails from this country to New South Wales *viâ* Panama and New Zealand, were sent in to the Admiralty at Somerset House; in consequence of which the Australian colonists naturally expected that the Government would have taken immediate action for the forwarding of the mails by so desirable a route. But, unfortunately for all parties concerned, the Government

determined upon no action being taken in the matter until it was referred to a Select Committee (Postal Packet Committee, 1859), and their report laid before the House of Commons. Unfortunately the Dover case occupied the said committee during the whole time of their sitting last session. Such being the case, the Australians naturally expected that during the sitting of the Committee this session, some of them, who had collected much information during the recess relative to the Panama route, might be examined before your committee. But to our surprise, when we appeared at your committee-room on the 2nd March last, we were informed by the chairman (*pro tem.*), Mr. Laing, that it was not the intention of the committee to go into any evidence relative to the Panama postal route; but "simply to report upon contracts, extending over periods of years, which have from time to time been modified by her Majesty's Government, for conveyance of mails beyond seas, &c." Sir, although many of us can give information required by your committee relative to the subject now before you, our general information is so much mixed up with, or I should say, dovetailed into, the Panama route, that we should feel obliged if your committee would allow us a special hearing after the Easter holidays. There is no doubt that the *western* portion of the Australian colonies (Melbourne, South Australia, and Tasmania) are against the Panama route, from jealousy alone. The chief reason why the above-named colonists are opposed to such route is, that *viâ* Panama, the *Eastern* Australian Colonies (New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand,) will then be placed upon the same footing and have the same advantages which Melbourne, Tasmania, and South Australia have had for so many years by the Suez route. By the Panama route, all the colonies would be placed, as far as possible, on the same footing as regards the postal service. At present, New Zealand, which is charged with her portion of the Suez route postal expenses, is 42 days behind South Australia, 39 days behind Melbourne, and 37 days behind Tasmania; and we are still called upon to pay our share for a line which, comparatively, is not of the slightest benefit to us. Before we receive our letters in Auckland (the seat of Government), South Australia has actually *answered* her letters, and sent them home by the

same mail-boat which brought her letters out. Queensland is much in the same position as New Zealand, having an advantage over us of only a few days. Sailing vessels have brought our mails from New Zealand in a shorter time than steam, *viâ* Suez. Should the Panama route be carried out, all letters and papers from our colonies in North America, from New York, &c., destined for Australia, would be conveyed *viâ* Panama in place of being sent round about by England, and all letters from Valparaiso, and north of there would then be conveyed to Australia *viâ* the Pacific Panama boat. It should be borne in mind, too, Sir, that there is a great trade between South America and the Colonies; so that this line would greatly facilitate business. Should the Imperial Government be favourable to a route across the narrrow isthmus that connects North and South America, I should strongly recommend that the words *viâ* Panama should not be mentioned in their contract, as I am inclined to believe, from information to be depended upon, that in the course of about two years another line or more of transit will be open north of Panama, viz., Honduras into the Bay of Tonseca on the Pacific; and San Juan, *viâ* Nicaragua to Realijo; either of which would possess great advantages over the Panama line, especially in regard to British Columbia, where the difference in mileage, alone, against Panama, would be about 900 miles.*

Should England be at war with France, would not the Panama,

* We must recollect, however, with deference to Mr. Brodie, that the Panama Railway is a great and successful fact. A late *New Zealand Examiner*, says:—"The Panama Railway is 47½ miles long, and is now a most substantial line. Its heaviest grade is 60 feet to the mile, and that for a short distance only. All kinds of goods and merchandise are transported over the line, such as coal, timber, guano, munitions of war, ores, heavy machinery, whale oil, coffee, cocoa, indigo, cochineal, Peruvian bark. Passenger trains run over it in three, and goods trains in five hours. At Colon, the Atlantic terminus of the railway, there are commodious wharfs, where the largest ships can be moored, and the harbour is one of the safest on the Atlantic coast. At Panama, on the Pacific terminus, freight is landed from barges towed by steam-tugs. The railroad company have only had to pay 1000*l.* for goods damaged or lost, and only one serious accident has yet happened on the line. Yellow fever has never spread among the residents on the railway, nor among the shipping at the termini, and has never appeared at Colon as an epidemic. During the first four years of the opening of the railway 121,820 passengers, gold worth upwards of thirty-four millions, and silver worth nearly six millions sterling, were conveyed across it. All the silver was on British account, and nearly all the gold ultimately found its way to the Bank of England *viâ* the United

or any other line named, be of great consequence to this country and Australia? Sir Rowland Hill, I have no doubt, would much like to see all postal packet routes pay their own expenses; but this, in the Australian packet service, where there is so great an extent of mileage, would, at present, be impossible. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that we are now paying one-half of the subsidy granted (90,000*l.* a year) for a monthly line *viâ* Suez, and we in the Eastern portion of the Australian Colonies, are willing to pay half this subsidy for the additional Panama route. It may be considered that if the Imperial Government were to pay 180,000 a-year for the Suez and Panama routes, they would be paying an exorbi-

States. The productions of Central and South-Western America for the United States and Europe, and the manufactures of the latter countries for the former places, can be placed more economically in the markets by the Isthmus Railroad than by Cape Horn. If adequate facilities existed on the Central American coast for transport of produce, nearly the whole of this year's crops there would have found their way to Europe and the United States by the Isthmus. Almost all the indigo and cochineal are now sent over the Panama Railway, and reach England in less than thirty days, while, if sent round the Horn, they would take four months. Nine-tenths of the trade of Central and South-Western America are in the hands of British merchants, and the traffic on the Isthmus Railroad has much increased lately from the transportation of goods on their account. Lines of steamers or sailing ships now trade regularly between New York, New Orleans, Southampton, London, Liverpool, Bordeaux, Bremen, and Colon, and between the Californian, Mexican, Chilian, Peruvian, and Central American ports and Panama. The Panama Railroad has reduced the passage between London and Vancouver's Island from six months to forty days. The average time between New York and San Francisco, *viâ* the railway, is twenty-three days, while by clipper ships round the Horn it is 138 days. Five thousand United States troops have crossed the railway since it has been opened; 800 troops, with material and appointments complete, were at one time landed at San Francisco in good health from New York in 30 days. Transfers of United States sailors and marines, with ships' provisions and munition of war, are constantly made across the Isthmus railroad. The British Admiralty might purchase supplies of beef, pork, rice, beans, flour, and bread in New York, and send them to its Pacific squadron by the Panama Railway at an immense saving. Detachments of English Sappers and Miners have passed over the railway for British Columbia. Although the Australian trade is chiefly in English hands, yet United States ships, with about a million tons of freight, sailed from New York, Boston, and Richmond for Australia in 1858. England is also greatly interested in the Californian trade. All this shows the importance of the Panama route to Australia and the Pacific. The average price of coals at Panama is 4*l.* a ton, but the recent discovery of coals in Vancouver's Island will have a tendency to create a material reduction."

tant sum of money, not for the colonies, but for the accommodation of 30,000,000 inhabitants in the United Kingdom, including more especially the Imperial Government, merchants, and manufacturers. But your committee, I hope, will take into consideration that where the Imperial Government is paying 180,000*l.* a-year for the accommodation of 30,000,000 of people, we, in the colonies, are paying 180,000*l.* for the accommodation of little over 1,000,000 people. Whatever loss there may be to this country by the Imperial Government paying 180,000*l.* a-year each for the Panama and Suez routes, which, everything taken into consideration, is not so very great, after the ocean postages are collected, I hope, Sir, you will remember that the assumed loss, indirectly, is more than doubly made up by the Australasian trade with this country—our imports and exports amounting to nearly 30,000,000*l.* annually.

There is no doubt that much money is annually thrown away upon subsidising steam companies, carrying mails to foreign countries, which ought to be laid out in subsidising a packet service between the mother country and her distant colonies. It is well known by evidence lately given, that there are steam postal packet companies successfully plying between Liverpool and America, without any subsidy from the Imperial Government—they merely obtain the ocean postage. They why pay any steam companies upwards of 200,000*l.* a year in subsidising them, when the same service can be carried out without making perhaps only one or two days' difference in the receipt or delivery of their mails? How do companies make their lines pay without any subsidy at all? For the simple reason that was given before your committee last Friday, "that the ocean-postage, cargo, and passenger traffic paid a fair and reasonable dividend to the owners of such companies." Where there is so great an oceanic postage, and so large a passenger and cargo traffic as between Liverpool and the States, leaving out it being a foreign country, no subsidies ought to be granted when the present contracts run out. Such a short service as between Liverpool and the United States ought to be looked upon in a very different light to a long and colonial service to Australia, where there are but few passengers and no cargo.

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The present plan, suggested by the last mail from Australia, relative to the Suez and Panama routes, is, in my opinion, satisfactory—namely, that the Western Colonies pay half the expenses of the Suez line, and the Eastern Colonies half the expenses of the Panama line, the Imperial Government making up the remaining half. Some objections may be made to the Panama route, because there is a rumour afloat that the Peninsular and Oriental Company are willing to run a fortnightly mail *viâ* Suez for another extra 25,000*l.* to Melbourne; but this has nothing to do with the question. The question, when it becomes before your committee, will I hope be simply this—whether you can recommend that the Eastern Colonies of Australia (New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand) should be furnished with the same advantages, by having the Panama route, as the Western Colonies (Melbourne, South Australia, and Tasmania) have enjoyed for so many years, to the detriment of the eastern portion of the colonies, by the Suez route? In fact, by the Suez route, New South Wales was on one occasion only allowed six hours to answer her letters, while Melbourne and Tasmania always have nine or ten days, and South Australia fifteen or sixteen days. But under any circumstances, colonists who live 100 or 200 miles from Sydney are one month behind the Melbourne colonists in answering their letters; while, by the present arrangements, the whole colony of Melbourne, South Australia, and Tasmania have the privilege of answering all their letters.

There is no doubt that the export of gold from Melbourne is far greater than it is from New South Wales; but you must bear in mind by the last reports that the last three years' export of gold from Melbourne had decreased no less than 3,165,593*l.*, a little over her export in 1854; whereas the increase of export of gold from New South Wales during the same period has been 581,792*l.* I may also state that in 1855 the export of wool from New Zealand was only 3000 bales, but in 1859 it increased to 15,000 bales. I may also state that in the first quarter of 1858 New Zealand imports were 136,130*l.*; exports 92,168*l.*; customs, 31,126*l.*; and in

the first quarter of 1859 they were—imports, 360,820*l.*; exports, 253,702*l.*; customs, 41,884*l.*

The Imperial Government and merchants, here, are but slightly acquainted with the great importance of the Panama route, which, when established, will open up a vast trade among the South Sea Islands. Many of these islands will then, in a few years, be to the Australian colonies what the West Indian islands were to this country previous to the emancipation of the slaves. Coffee, cotton, sugar and other valuable articles could be raised in many of them; for soil and climate are most suitable, and native labour would be abundant.

I am well aware that if the eighteen members of the Australian Association were to meet in committee (there being three to represent each of the six colonies), and that we were to discuss the merits of the Panama route, the nine members who represent the western colonies of Australia would oppose the Panama route, and the nine who represent the eastern portion of the colonies would support the Panama line, but not oppose the present Suez route. In the annual report of the Australian Association of June, 1859, the Secretary says:—(but mind he is one of the anti-Panama members):—"The committee were very much pressed by gentlemen of influence connected with New South Wales and New Zealand to advocate with the Imperial Government an additional steam postal service to those colonies, '*viâ* Panama,' but after the most careful consideration the committee became convinced that even if such a line should prove advantageous to New South Wales and New Zealand (which they very much doubt), it would not be of the slightest benefit as a postal line either to Victoria, Tasmania, or South Australia; and conceiving it to be the duty of the association to recommend only those measures that are manifestly beneficial to the Australian Colonies generally, they did not feel themselves called upon to advocate the route proposed." Unfortunately, there were very few members who represented New South Wales and New Zealand present at this meeting; but nearly all those who represented Victoria, South Australia, and Tasmania. If New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand are to wait until the whole of the six colonies of Australia can be benefited by one particular

postal route, we may wait long enough; but if the Panama route would not be of the "slightest benefit to Victoria, Tasmania, or South Australia," what benefit is the Suez route to New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand? I therefore ask your committee, Sir, to hear our evidence, and, after hearing it, to decide for us, as to whether the Imperial Government should or should not support the Panama route. I am quite sure your committee will not only be unanimous, but that you will add a rider to it, strongly urging the Government to take immediate action.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

WALTER BRODIE,

Late Member House of Representatives, New Zealand.

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SIR,—I regret there should have been any misunderstanding as to the objects of the Postal Packet Contract Committee; but the reference to them is very precise and does not admit of their reporting on the merits of different routes; and we have already in more than one instance declined to take witnesses who proposed to give specific evidence as to the advantages of particular routes. I regret very much the disappointment which this course may create; but if you will read the terms of our appointment you will, I think, acknowledge that no other course is open to us.

Yours, very faithfully,

A. MUREY DUNLOP.

WALTER BRODIE, Esq.,

15, *Delamere Terrace, April 24th*, 1860.

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CHOICE OF SHIP.—A recent writer of experience speaking on this subject, says:—"Avoid cheap ships—ships chartered by cheap brokers and agents—those who, by tempting baits, tout

for passengers at half fares. The hook will be found, to the sorrow of those who take it, the only reality attached to the offer. Of my own knowledge I can aver that a second-class passenger in a ship owned by a first-class firm is better accommodated, better fed, and better attended to, than a first-class passenger in a second-class ship. The charges for accommodation, &c., in these vessels, like those in first and second-class hotels, will, of course, be found somewhat higher in the one than in the other; but the difference in this respect is by no means in proportion to the comfort and convenience obtainable in the one over the filth and misery to be found in the other. In the one, in the cabin and at the head of the table, we have an agreeable and intelligent commander; each meal served by competent stewards, and in a manner that would not disgrace a first-class hotel. In the other, at the cabin and at the head of the table, we have a coarse ill-bred skipper, with everything else in keeping with him. The chief repast is served by dirty cuddy boys, and the meal itself is composed of messes which, both with regard to the cooking and the matter, would disgrace a shilling ordinary. Again, in the one there will be order and attention during the week, and a proper mark of respect to distinguish the seventh from other days; in the other, all will be confusion and riot, while little or no regard will be paid either to persons, days, or things. Indeed, were the reader suddenly to shift his quarters from a west-end club-house to an east-end pot-house, the contrast produced by the change would not be greater or more striking than that presented by these ships. The lowest in price is not always the cheapest article, although necessity may compel its selection; but where a purchaser has the power of choice, he will do well — *either with regard to ships or outfit* —to consider the value as well as the price of an article. Those who have never made a long sea voyage have little idea of the good things, besides fresh air, that are to be found on board a liberally-provisioned, ably-commanded, and well-conducted ship. The mere recital of our usual dinner fare on board the 'Windsor,' by which I made a delightful passage from Sydney to London, may enlighten my readers a little on the subject. Our first course was mock turtle, ox tail, or other excellent soup, alternated by preserved salmon. The second,

fowls or ducks, or occasionally a turkey, goose, or sucking pig, with sundry joints of roast and boiled (fresh) meat. The third consisted of a variety of puddings, tarts, &c., which for quality could not be surpassed anywhere. And lastly, we had cheese, followed by a good dessert."—*New Zealand, by an Englishman.*

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To show that New Zealand passengers may live as luxuriously as Australian, I will now present the reader with a fair average of our daily "carte" on board Messrs. Willis's "Joseph Fletcher," the vessel in which I made my last voyage to New Zealand. Macaulay, in his luminous essay on Warren Hastings, says, "Most passengers find some resource in eating twice as many meals as on land." Our Quaker friends hint that the great historian is sometimes at sea in history,—be this as it may, he has evidently been at sea in a ship, as the reader will, I think admit, when he sees this programme of our trencher feats on board the "Joseph Fletcher:"—

Nine o'clock, BREAKFAST.—Tea and coffee. Hot rolls, or toast, with butter and marmalade. One or two dishes of mutton or pork chops, or a joint of cold meat, and potato fritters. Twelve o'clock, LUNCH.—Ham, tongue, cold beef or mutton, and sardines, with bread, butter, and cheese. Four o'clock, DINNER (party consisting of fourteen).—First course — mock-turtle, or gravy, or pea-soup, with the addition of preserved salmon three days a week. Second course—frequently fowls or ducks, with two joints of fresh meat and vegetables; and a pie, hash, or curry. Third course — puddings, pies, or tarts, butter and cheese; and then a dessert of figs, nuts, almonds, and raisins. Seven o'clock, TEA.—Tea and coffee, hot cakes and toast, with ham, tongue, or cold sliced meat.

It should be observed, however, that owing to the confusion of getting away, and to the dilemmas of the "first week" (see page 298), a ship's table seldom settles down to regular goodness till one gets off Madeira; so that passengers should wait awhile and get out of their querulous, sea-sick state ere they pronounce an opinion as to their cook and commissariat.

ENGAGING PASSAGE.—It is a common practice, and a good one, for the intending emigrant to run up to town to look at the ship in dock. He should always remember, however, especially if accompanied by wife or daughter, that seeing the finest vessel in dock, taking in cargo, is much the same as seeing her in the repulsive light of a dirty-looking wreck. Her sails unbent, her rigging slack and baggy; her deck lumbered with boats, casks, pitch, and tar; her Irish dock labourers getting themselves and everything around them into inextricable confusion; carpenters sawing, hammering, and bawling with din and racket enough to wake the dead—all combine to make up a scene which, if beheld for the first time on a wet day after a dirty walk to the dirty dock, might well send a nervous man back again to the country thankful that he had escaped with life, and effectually weaned from all desire for any sea-going sort of emigration. Indeed, the difference between a ship in dock, fitting up and taking in cargo, and lying at Gravesend, all a taunto for the voyage, may well be likened to the difference between the filthy grub and the brilliant butterfly.

CABINS AND BERTHS.—*Poop* cabins are the ships' parlours. All other cabins are temporary erections of certain regulation sizes; but poop cabins are fixed, standing, parts of the vessel; and, as they vary in size, no general price can be published for them, and each is let by special agreement. In New Zealand ships they consist of two stern, and of about eight side cabins: each with its door opening into the saloon, a snug apartment about 40 ft. + 14. The two *stern* poop cabins are light and airy little parlour-like places, from 10 to 12 feet square, with large stern windows. These are generally secured early by family emigrants of liberal means; each would accommodate a bachelor party of three, or a married couple with three or four children. For one of these cabins, my brother, with his wife and two young children, had to pay 225 guineas—but they are now much cheaper; and the terms for a stern poop cabin for two adults, would now, I think, be about 140*l*. The *side* poop cabins vary in size from 7 to 8 feet square, and each has a side window. The captain and medical man generally occupy two of these cabins. Each would accommodate a married couple, and one, or even two, children. The

present price of one, for a single person, would now, I think, be about 70*l.*; for a couple, sharing it, about 120*l.*

The chief cabins, *lower-deck*, are just under the poop cabins. They form a lower story, in fact, reached by low stairs set in the hatchway, an opening in the saloon floor. These cabins have each a small window, and are generally about 6 or 7 feet + 8, and from 7 to 8 feet high.

Adjoining these, on the same deck, but separated by a partition, and having separate hatchway-stairs for ascent to the main-deck (the out of doors), we find the *Intermediate* or second cabins. These are built up just like the adjoining chief cabins, but with the addition of sleeping berths; and are generally divided into cabins for four (or a family), and into cabins for two. Each generally has its small window, and each its door opening into the common eating-room, where a long dining table is placed with fixed forms and seats.

Adjoining the Intermediate (but still separated by a partition and having separate stairs to the main deck) is the *Steerage*, fitted up like the Intermediate, but with the addition of a third sort of berth, viz. the *open* berth in the fore end of the steerage for single men, at prices varying from 16*l.* to 18*l.* Each of these lower-deck compartments is furnished with a separate patent water-closet for females and children.

A person from the country, accustomed to the comparatively spacious rooms of even a comfortable cottage, or snug farm-house, will generally be much surprised, and often a little disgusted, when he comes to see the various lower-deck cabins and berths which the finest passenger ship provides for his accommodation. But he should call to mind that these little dens are well ventilated little places; that they are only to sleep in; and that within a few inches of him, night and day, there is, almost ever, a fine breeze blowing, and a boundless supply of the purest sea air.

As to the hours spent by the various classes of passengers in the various parts of the ship, we may perhaps say that, on the average of the voyage, about eight hours would be passed in the sleeping berth, five in the common saloon or eating-room, and eleven out of doors on deck; and it may be observed that, in most ships, intermediate passengers, who, as a body, are a most respectable class of emigrants, generally associate with chief-

cabin passengers in *out-door* ship life, and have the use of the poop deck, the most agreeable promenade either in hot weather or in rough weather.

THE DIFFERENCE IN CABINS, AND WHICH TO SELECT.—The difference between *poop* cabins and *lower-deck* chief cabins, is merely a difference in sleeping rooms. The occupants of each take all their meals in common at the general saloon table; and the economical emigrant contenting himself with half a lower chief cabin, say at 45*l.*, enjoys precisely the same ship status as the Nabob who may swing his cot in the stern poop at 100 guineas. The difference, however, between chief cabin and *second* cabin, and again between this and the *steerage*, is a substantial difference in dietary scale and general accommodation. In the chief cabin, a bell commonly rings at nine o'clock, at twelve, four and seven, when you make your way to the saloon, find a liberal table ready spread, and steward and steward's mate to attend on you—the bill is paid and you have only to sit down at the marine table-d'hôte and take your meal. But in the second cabin, and of course in the steerage, you form yourselves into "messes," and draw stores and rations; and though everything is cooked for you, you have to perform many little table offices for yourself—offices, however, which you have plenty of *time* to perform, and which will not at all impair your efficiency in the work of first settling down in the new Land when you arrive in it.

I have now been steerage, intermediate, chief cabin and poop cabin passenger in various ships; and recollecting that the part of the ship we go in to New Zealand, will not in the slightest degree affect our *position* in New Zealand, and that he who goes steerage will get to his journey's end just as quickly, and, in all probability, in quite as fine health as he who goes poop, I should be guided in my selection of the particular cabin or accommodation I engaged by some such considerations as these. If I were a mechanic, or a young single fellow of any or no business, going to land in New Zealand with only a stout heart and willing hands, or if I were a family man with 50*l.* to 150*l.* in my pocket, I would go steerage — if a family man with 200*l.* to 600*l.* I would go intermediate—if a bachelor capitalist or family

man with from 700*l.* to 2000*l.*, I would go chief cabin—and if a few pounds more were of no great consequence to me, or if I were a bad sailor, or were likely to have any writing or study on board requiring more light and cabin privacy, I would take a poop cabin to myself, and have my sofa bedstead in my own parlour.

FITTING UP CABINS.—Assuming a married couple, or two friends, were going in a side poop or lower-deck chief cabin, I should fit up much in this style, 1st. Cover the floor with a piece of *panklabian*, and against the side of the ship, fore and aft, fix a two-feet iron bedstead (with a shifting 9-inch side board to keep you from rolling out in bad nights) standing (or blocked up in wooden sockets so as to stand) about 2 feet 4 inches clear of the floor. 2nd. Under this bedstead, put, in their two separate parts, a set of mahogany ship drawers. At 2 feet or 2½ feet above the lower bed, fix a common ship's sleeping berth for the upper bed.* 4th. Place a set of drawers (say the set named at page 260), with a small book-case or cupboard on the top, at one end of the cabin, and a mahogany table-washstand at the other. 5th. Put up planed nine-inch deal shelves (with a four-inch right-angle edging) all round the cabin; and a dozen or two screw pegs, with a patent swing Palmer candle-lamp, wherever they would be most useful. 6th. Hang up a large looking-glass for your wife; and provide a small canvas tool-bag, containing claw-hammer, small saw, inch-and-half chisel, screw-driver, pincers, two brad-awls and gimlets, a few nails, screw-hooks, cleats, and a ball of cord. Also provide handbrush, dust-pan, camp-stool, half a dozen boxes of the very best *wax* matches, twelve pounds of the best patent candles for lamp, one or two American easy chairs, with cushions, for deck use, and a large loop-drawing sailor's canvas bag, to hold dirty linen and odds and ends, until such are periodically transferred to the hold. Shepherd's, 90, Bishopsgate Street; Goy and Evans, 36, Leadenhall Street; and Brown's,

* For a married couple, a *broader* iron bedstead, dispensing with this berth overhead, is the most comfortable arrangement; but, in this way, the little space we have to deal with cannot be quite so well economised. Any dark *lower-deck* cabin may be made much lighter and more cosy looking by just papering it with some light paper.

opposite Aldgate Pump, are three of the best and cheapest houses for this work, and furnish and fit up cabins and berths in a few hours at any price from a couple of pounds to twenty.*

These fittings will carry all the clothes, books, and nick-nacks which are *necessary* for two people; but the following things may be added by the luxurious:—a small filter, a thermometer, one or two perous red water bottles (wrapt in wet flannel, and hung up in a cabin draft, they ice water in the tropics), a small spirit lamp and kettle for hot water in the night, and a bottle of disinfecting fluid. In the *Intermediate*, where there are children and a tender mamma, some pots of jam, a little macaroni, chocolate cake, preserved milk and raspberry vinegar, a tin of fine biscuits, a plum-cake, a box of prunes, figs, and muscatels, may be taken. But as a general rule, applicable to every part of the ship, no extra stores whatever are *necessary*. If ladies have not interdicted smoking and small comforts, gentlemen should provide a box or two of Havannahs; for though ship's tobacco is generally prime, ship's cigars are generally vile. In a *stern* poop cabin, too, space can occasionally be found for a small piano—if not, one can sometimes be placed in a corner of the saloon; and as a little music in the evening—polka, song, and waltz—wonderfully promotes the agreeableness of the voyage, I would advise any fair emigrant to take a piano with her as part of her battery of charms—first ascertaining, though, from the shipbroker whether any other lady is proposing to do the same; for even if there were *room* for two instruments, two might prove rather a nuisance, and promote discord rather than harmony.

As all articles taken in the cabin go freight free, passengers often crowd in things till they can scarcely get into bed or get out. But this is a penny wise and pound foolish practice. The articles I have named will pretty well fill up the space, and not allow a comfortable couple much more than fair turning room. When strangers are to share a cabin, they should just get the Shipping House to introduce them, so that they may fraternize for the time being, decide on what fittings they will have, and share the expense.

Regular sleeping berths are provided for the intermediate and

* Shepherd's terms, I think, for fitting up a *first* class cabin for one person are, 4*l.*—for a *second* class, 2*l.* 12*s.*—for a *third*, 1*l.* 7*s.*

steerage passengers; and here the "fitting-up" arrangements are generally simplified to strong boxes, canvas bags, shelves and pegs, a camp-stool or two, and a triangular iron wash-stand; and here, as in the chief cabin, each passenger provides his own bed and bedding. An intermediate party, however (applying early), can generally purchase as much extra space in the intermediate compartment as they please, have it enclosed off, and then "fit-up" as they choose. In this way, I have made *Intermediate* cabins almost as comfortable, for some of my friends, as *lower-deck* chief cabins.

INSURANCE.—Insurance costs so little, and often seems to relieve the emigrant from so much care and anxiety, that, as a general rule, I should recommend a person to insure any articles he may be taking out. The mere system or form of the thing is very simple. In my last trip I insured my things with Messrs. Willis; and all I had to do was to state the number of the cases or packages, the general contents, and the estimated value; and then pay the premium (I think either 1½*l.* or 2*l.* per cent.), and pocket the policy. If any loss or damage arise, the claim can be made and liquidated through the agents of the House in the colony.

SAFETY OF THE VOYAGE.—So many thousands of men, women, and children now annually proceed in ease, comfort, and safety to our Australasian colonies, that any detailed description of the voyage across would be almost as superfluous as a description of the railway trip from Aberdeen to London. As to danger, accidents may happen in going to bed; but as to the question of risking life or limb in now crossing the ocean from England to Australasia, if we look at the "Government Emigration Report," we shall find that out of nearly 700 emigrant vessels despatched by Government to these colonies in the last fourteen years, only two or three have been lost. Indeed, as an old voyager, I should consider that I incurred less risk of personal injury in travelling for eighty days at *sea* between London and New Zealand, than in travelling forty days by *rail* between Bodmin and Berwick.

TIME OF THE YEAR FOR SAILING.—This is a matter of little or no importance; the New Zealand voyage is not like the

American, where winter, early spring, or late autumnal sailing, is always disagreeable, and sometimes disastrous. The New Zealand passenger sailing any time between June and October certainly gets away in fine weather, and arrives in the spring or the New Zealand summer; and where there is a party of people, or large family, who want to secure a couple of months of fine weather on arrival (two months in which they may be choosing their land and getting up their houses), it would be well to time their sailing so as to *arrive* in spring or summer. But the *quickest* runs are generally made by sailing in winter or spring; and (comparatively) our four seasons are so fine and so much alike in New Zealand, that the emigrant may land among us and commence his "settling-down" operations in almost *any* month. Indeed, except it be a large party or an invalid party, we may certainly say that when a family has once decided on going to New Zealand the waiting for any particular sailing time is so much loss of time.

Sea-Sickness and General Health.—There are as various specifics and phylacteries for sea-sickness as there are for the toothache—and all are equally efficacious. The evils of the transient malady have, however, been greatly exaggerated. Some bilious cockney, reliant on bottled stout and British brandy, crosses the ditch from Dover to Calais in some bobbing little steamer, and solemnly asserts for ever after that if the voyage had endured ten minutes longer, he, Brown of Bloomsbury, would have been landed a corpse! Sea-sickness is never so bad in sailing vessels at sea as in steamers on the coast; and I speak in perfect gravity in saying that if doctors could only enforce a run down channel and a good dose of sea-sickness for half their aldermanic patients, half their aldermanic patients would return convalescents. Some passengers, especially children, are scarcely affected at all by the ship's motion; and with those who are, the feeling of qualmishness generally passes off in two or three days or a week at most, when the sufferer will probably feel better, and lighter, and hungrier, than he ever felt before.

As to one's *general* health in making a voyage to New Zealand, in first-class well-found vessels such as have been described, a person would at least be as little liable to suffer from illness

on board as he would be, in the same time, ashore; while I think we may say that three persons in four—men, women, and children, robust or delicate—generally leave the ship much improved in health and vigour. Doctors are not carried in New Zealand passenger ships because of any liability to disease—but because births and accidents may happen—and because the mere presence of a good medical man on board, imparts a natural feeling of satisfaction and security. From the high character of New Zealand emigration, the smaller size and less crowded state of the ships, and the better quality of the dietary, the sea mortality from the Company's time down to the present day, has been singularly slight; while even in the more crowded Australian vessels, the following extract from the "Government Emigration Report" shows that the general mortality there has been only about one per cent.

"The mortality during the year, in seventy-two ships, has been slight, amounting to ·37 per cent. on the adults, 3·31 on the children, and 1·01 on the whole number embarked."

In a company's vessel in which I made my first voyage with about a hundred fellow-passengers, our excellent doctor had a complete sinecure, and tortured only the flute; while in the "Joseph Fletcher," in which I made my last voyage, with about the same number on board, I do not remember that the surgeon had to give any passenger even a pill.

First Week's "Settling-Down."—Though, however, the emigrant's first few days of sea-sickness are nothing to be alarmed at, his first week at sea is truly his "black time;" for more little miseries and discomforts are frequently crowded into the first week at sea, than are spread over the whole remainder of the voyage. Hence it is said, and not without reason, that as this "first week" must come whether the voyage be one of twenty days, fifty days, or a hundred days, a voyage to Australia or South Britain virtually entails little more discomfort than a voyage to America. In this "first week" he has, perchance, just parted with the friends of his childhood—old familiar faces are no longer around him—the shores of the old Land are still in sight—the ship and all on board are strange—strange faces, strange sounds, strange sights are everywhere—he

knows no one, no one knows him — he neither cares to eat nor drink—dull, desolate, miserable, sick, he tries to walk, and tumbles down; or steals to bed to bemoan his lot with many a groan and growl. But "durate et vosmet rebus servate secundis"—a few days, presto, and the scene shifts—we eat like lions, sleep like sloths—we have found our sea legs and can march erect—we have introduced ourselves to the dog, fed the poultry, visited the cook, explored the forecastle, hailed a sailor, cut jokes with the skipper, exchanged good offices with our emigrant comrades, and have become a merry little community bound together, for the time, by identity of interests and new pursuits, and well disposed to make the best of the long sea holiday before us.

Occupations and Amusements.—One of the best inventions of these days would be an invention providing some useful employment for emigrants at sea. Babies, crochet, knitting, embroidery, tart-making, and love-making, pretty well employ the ladies of the ship; but in all sea industrial pursuits their lords cut but a sorry figure. It seems as if some malignant cannibal deity, cooping them up for the spit, had forbidden them to do aught but eat, drink, sleep, and grow fat. The only really useful occupation I ever saw any emigrant engaged in, was the one of making a fishing net—an example worthy of imitation. The stitch may be learned of any fisherman's daughter in ten minutes; needles, twine, lead, cork and cord, all stowed in a small bag; and two or three hours a-day devoted to the occupation would provide the emigrant with a seine, or drag-net, which he might either sell on arrival, or keep for his own use. Amateur carpentry and all similar handicraft occupations cannot be carried on at sea; and excepting shoemakers, tailors and a few others, whose tools and materials will pack in a small space, there are few or no mechanics who can continue their ordinary employments on board. Netting, seine making, is one of the few useful occupations which *can* be pursued on board: the work and materials may be tossed into a box or corner, and taken up again in a moment; and the manipulation may be carried on below, or on deck, either standing, sitting, or lying, in any weather and in almost any light. Emigrant swells of the 'poop west-end,' may take more

kindly to the fisherman's needle when they learn that the industrous emigrant I allude to was a poop-cabin Nabob, the Hon. Henry Petre—who taught the art to my brother and myself.

Though, however, the emigrant's hands may be confined at sea to one or two useful pursuits, there is plenty of work for the head: he may profitably devote a few hours a day to a course of useful reading, and thus master some popular work on agriculture and dairy farming, on the sheep, ox and horse; or he may procure Williams' Maori grammar, so as to land with a useful smattering of the native language; or he may practise sketching in water-colours, so as, hereafter, to send mamma, or Rose Ada, a picture of the new home he has raised in Zealandia.

Mere *amusements* at sea are easily found; and in a well-conducted ship with a good captain and agreeable passengers, things "go merry as a marriage bell." In the first place, one has plenty of eating and drinking and smoking and chatting and lounging—then there is chess, whist, pistol and rifle practice, with many a merry game on deck by night and day—then song and dance in the lustrous tropical moonlights, with kit and sailor's hornpipe on the forecastle, cornopean and polka on the poop—then the sights and incidents of the ocean road: the crimson painted sunsets, the boarding homeward-bounders, catching shark, albatross and dolphin, harpooning the porpoise and the albacore, trapping the brilliant nautilus, rousing the great whale. And though hours may come to every man when he may wish that the long playday were over, and that he could brace up and get to work, yet few will step ashore in the new Land without casting one longing, lingering look behind at the stout ship which has borne them so gallantly across the waters and been for weeks their ocean-home.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### THE LAND-SALE REGULATIONS.

PARTAKING grievously of the character of experimental legislation, the New Zealand Land Regulations have very frequently been altered and amended, and have not yet acquired that character of stability with which it is so desirable that the laws of a country relating to real estate should be stamped. Last year, too, owing to the Home Government's disallowance of a certain Act of the General Assembly, almost all the existing Regulations were supposed to have been rendered so null and void that our New Zealand friends exclaimed for a while, and with reason, that, in the matter of their land-laws, Chaos had come again. If to the mention of these elements of confusion I add the fact that in the books, papers, lectures, pamphlets, prize essays, and the like which are ever pouring forth about this prolific country, scarcely any one set of the Regulations is described alike, I shall, I think, have said enough to show that the somewhat humorous complaint of its being far easier to pay for a hundred acres of land in New Zealand than to find out how, and of whom, and at what price, it is to be bought, has been a complaint not altogether without foundation. The Home Government, however, having since thought well to "allow" a second Land Act of the General Assembly, this injurious state of things no longer exists. This Act, which might almost be intituled the "Putting to Rights Act," virtually legalises all the present Provincial land-laws. The six sets of Regulations described hereafter are now, therefore, free from all blot or taint in regard to their validity; and though each Provincial Council (on obtaining the assent of the Governor and his Ministerial advisers) has the power of altering the current Regulations of its Province, and though further experience may

lead to further amendments in some of their minor clauses, I believe that, except in the Otago set, no material changes are, as yet, contemplated in any of them, and that my readers may calculate that for the next six months at least, the various descriptions of waste-land in New Zealand will be open to them for sale and lease on the various "terms and conditions" set forth in the following pages.

Seeing that each of our other colonies manages to dispose of its public lands unde *one* code of Regulations, it appears to be a great anomaly that New Zealand should profess to require no fewer than *six*.* But it is asserted that there are certain exceptional features, both in the physical configuration of New Zealand and in the manner of her colonization, which show that in electing to have a special system of land-selling for each of the six parts of the colony, instead of one uniform system for the whole of it, the colonists only did that which it was natural they should do. New Zealand, it is argued—a country as large as Great Britain and Ireland—consists of two great islands. At different periods, six independent little settlements were planted on its coasts at a distance from each other of some 200 miles. Each of these (Auckland, Taranaki, Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, Otago) was founded by a different body of Pioneers, professing a different object; each settlement, in many respects, was an independent little colony; and as the sale of its wild domains formed one great source of its public revenue, and constituted the chief means whereby its special colonising views could be carried out, 'tis not to be wondered at, when the new Constitution came into effect, that each little community should strive to retain the management of its waste-lands, and to preserve the privilege of adopting any particular code of Land Regulations which it might regard as being the most suitable to the natural features of its locality, and the best adapted to promote the further colonisation of its territory.

Whether, however, it would now be better policy to continue

* Hawke's Bay, formerly a portion of the Wellington country, has been erected into a seventh Province; but at present its Land Regulations are substantially the same as those of Wellington. Marlborough, formerly a portion of Nelson, also erected into a separate province, has at present been content to adopt the very faulty regulations of Nelson.

to dispose of the waste-lands of New Zealand under six different local codes, or to adopt one general code for the whole colony, is a question on which there exists great difference of opinion. The advocates of the "six-systems plan," who belong to that political party among us whom we call "Provincialists," and who have been described in Chap. X., contend that it possesses the great merit of having worked well in practice, and that under its operation during the last few years some thousands of emigrants of a high class have been drawn to the colony, and great progress made in agricultural and pastoral pursuits and in the general work of settlement and civilisation. They allege, further, that, as some of the settlements are more of an agricultural, others more of a pastoral, character,* the Regulations which might be the most suitable for the one might be the least suitable for the other; and assert that, as emigrants are found to entertain very different views and desires as to how and at what price waste-land should be made procurable, it is better even on this account that there should be a *variety* of land-selling systems in New Zealand, so that if the emigrant disapproved of the Regulations of one province, he might find something more suitable to his taste in the Regulations of another.

On the other side, there is a small, but an increasing number, of colonists of the "Centralists" party, of which I am a humble member, who argue that although the "six-codes plan" might be the best when the settlements were in their infancy and had but a separate isolated existence, yet now that they are fast growing up, now that they are being more welded together by common interests, by almost daily intercourse and frequent steam communication, they should consider themselves as forming one united colony, much as the countries of Great Britain and Ireland form one United Kingdom; and should now agree to ordain that laws so fundamentally important as laws regulating the acquisition of waste-land and real estate be made precisely the same in one part of such united colony as they are in another. We "one-code" advocates contend, too, that the alleged differ-

* This is daily becoming less and less the case: the observations made at the end of the chapter on agriculture, show that squatting must soon be abandoned for grazing, and that we are every year, and per force, becoming *buyers* of wild land rather than *hirers* of wild land.

ences in the social and physical features of the various settlements, now that we are all becoming land-buyers and Graziers, rather than Squatters, are more imaginary than real; and that, aided by the experience which has been gained, one common mode of land-selling could now be devised which would prove alike beneficial to North and South. We assert, further, that the "six-codes plan" has *not* worked well; that, looking to the natural advantages of New Zealand, a far greater stream of emigration ought to have flowed to it than has done, and that the few thousands of people who have gone thither in the last few years have gone not so much *because* of the waste-land policy of the country as in *spite* of it. We maintain that the setting up of six different sets of Land Regulations, with their constant liability to alterations, while it creates great confusion in this country, tends more than anything else to perpetuate that still lingering feeling of jealousy between the Settlements which was long so injurious a feature of their colonisation; and we argue that, if one uniform system of land-selling were now adopted for the whole colony, and an effective agency established in England for the purpose of carrying it out, the popularity and attractiveness of New Zealand as an emigration field might soon be increased four-fold.

Like many great benefactors of the human race, we advanced "Centralists," in advocating this uniformity of Land Regulations, are before our time. But though it is rash to prophesy till after the event, I will venture to prophesy that before the year 1870 we shall have one uniform set of Regulations for the whole of New Zealand, and shall see our land and emigrationary interests in the mother country managed by a *General* Office in London—an establishment presided over by some influential colonist who, in our New Zealand Government, shall bear the title of "Home Minister;" and who, changed, say, every two years, and with a well-earned salary of 1000*l.* a year, shall be at once the political, ambassadorial, and emigrationary representative of the colony in the mother country.

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For the better understanding of the subject of the New Zealand waste-land laws, it should be observed that by the "Treaty of Waitangi," made between the British Government and the natives,

all the land of the islands, some 75,000,000 acres, was admitted to be their property; and that the Government pledged itself to obtain no portion of such territory for the purposes of colonisation except by way of friendly purchase. This agreement has been scrupulously observed. The whole of the great South Island, containing more than 40,000,000 of acres, where there were few or no natives, has been acquired in this manner; and a moderate extent of territory, embracing some 6,000,000 of acres, and including a few fine pastoral and agricultural districts, has been purchased by degrees, in the provinces of Auckland, Wellington, Taranaki, and Hawkes' Bay, which, together, constitute the North Island. The "purchasing" is effected through a special department of the General Government. The natives, as they feel inclined to part with further portions of the magnificent but unused territory of some thirty millions of acres which they still possess in the North Island; or, in other words, as they feel more or less disposed to encourage the further spread of European settlement among them, bring forward a fresh district for sale, and when the bargain is officially and publicly completed by the Purchasing Department, such fresh acquired district becomes the property of the Crown, and is made over by the Crown (acting through the General Assembly) to one or the other of the Provincial Governments, who survey and classify it, and then offer it to the public for sale or lease on one or other of the various terms and conditions hereinafter named.

With these preliminary observations, I will now offer my readers a digest of New Zealand's six codes of Land Regulations; and if, in going through it, they will occasionally refer to the following remarks, applicable alike to each Province, it will save much cumbersome repetition on my part, and tend, materially, to make the subject clear and simple to them:—

I.

None of the waste-lands of New Zealand are now purchaseable at public offices or agencies established in this country for the sale of "Land Orders"—as was the case in the time of the New Zealand Company, and in the days of the Otago and Canterbury settlements. The New Zealand Laws, too, strictly debar any private individual from purchasing, leasing, or renting any

lands direct from the Natives. Thus, the public waste-lands of New Zealand can now only be purchased or leased *in* the Colony by the purchaser himself on arrival there (or by some agent he may have there) either of one or other of the Provincial Governments.

II.

In laying out any new township or district for settlement, the Local Government of each Province makes adequate public reserves for religious, educational, social, and industrial purposes.

III.

Besides the various classes of purchaseable waste-land, described hereafter, each Province makes a class called "Town Lands," being lands forming the sites of the new villages and townships which are gradually being laid out as new districts come into the market and are opened for settlement. These "Town Lands" are surveyed in small lots, generally of from a rood to an acre or two, a published "reserved price" is attached to each by the Land Office, and they are then sold at publicly advertised periodical auctions for cash, to the highest bidder. Auckland, Wellington, and Nelson also make a class of land called "Suburban." This consists chiefly of narrow belts of land circling the "Town Lands," laid out in lots of a few acres for little garden-farms, orchards, paddocks, and the like, and sold in the same manner as the town lots.

IV.

As a general practice, the purchaseable "Country Lands" of all classes are surveyed and mapped off in lots, and a map of them (open to public inspection) placed in the public Land Office of the Province, before they are considered open for purchase; but in some exceptional cases, the intending purchaser may have a piece of country land, lying in some unsurveyed district, surveyed at his own expense, and on completion of the purchase receive, as an equivalent, a certain allowance of land.

V.

All Country Lands are surveyed and laid out in such manner as to distribute among the various "lots" the fairest possible apportionment of the advantages of wood and water, and

natural boundaries; and, generally, each country lot has a frontage on a roadway.

VI.

In the Province where "Country Lands" are not sold by public auction, but where the intending purchaser makes "application" at the Land Office for some certain lot, and it happens that the same lot is applied for on the same day by another person, it is put up to private auction, confined to such applicants, and sold for cash to the highest bidder.

VII.

All lands of all classes, with the exception of the Auckland "Special Settlement" land, are purchaseable only for *cash;* for although the actual conditions are generally 10*l.* per cent. down, and the remainder one month afterwards, yet one month's credit may virtually be called cash.

VIII.

On completion of the conditions of purchase of any lot of land, the purchaser receives his "Crown Grant" on payment of a fee of 20*s.*

IX.

In any case of failure on the part of the purchaser, or the lessee, or the tenant, of any lot of land to fulfil the stipulated conditions of his purchase, lease, or tenancy, the Local Government may cause him to forfeit all his interest therein, and may dispose of the land to some other person.

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*Digest of the Land Regulations of the Province of Auckland: enacted by the Provincial Government of Auckland, assented to by the Governor, and brought into operation in the year* 1858.

THE *Purchaseable* LANDS OF AUCKLAND.—These consists of two sorts,* viz., General Country Land, and Lands for "Special

* A third class was originally made, namely "Credit Lands"—but as the over-riding act of the General Assembly, before alluded to as the "Putting-to-Rights" Act, did away with all sales of land on credit in New Zealand (*save in any exceptional case, where it might be land set apart as "Special Settlement Land"*), this third class of Auckland Waste Lands, as regards emigrants generally, does not now exist.

Settlements." The former, in lots of various sizes, is sold to the purchasing-applicant at the uniform cash price of 10*s.* an acre. The latter, are simply portions of the General Country Lands which the authorities may set apart and reserve for any little body of people who may desire to keep together in the new Land, and found some little Settlement of their own. Here, the price per acre is the same as for the General Country Land; but, here, the authorities (on certain light conditions of "occupancy and improvement") have the power of granting five years' credit to the purchasers.

THE *Leaseable* AND *Rentable* LANDS OF AUCKLAND.—These consist of three sorts, viz., wild-grazing land, timber-cutting land, and mineral land. The first is leaseable in Runs (say of from 3000 to 10,000 acres, with boundaries rudely marked by hill, post, and stream,) for a term of fourteen years, at an annual rent of 5*l.* per Run, with a further rent of 1*l.* for every 1000 sheep over 5000 which the Run will carry.* The Runholder must put a certain regulated quantity of live stock on his Run; and if at any time during the period of his lease the whole or any portion of his Run be required for sale, or other public purposes, his occupation must at once cease. He may at any time dispose of his interest in his Lease (having fulfilled all conditions thereof up to the period of transfer), but he has no "pre-emptive right of purchase" to any portion of his Run.

*Timber-cutting Land* is the heavy forest land, rentable for the purpose of splitting and sawing and selling fencing-stuff, and house and ship-building timber. Here, the sawyer, or millowner, who may wish to embark in the timber trade, applies at the Land Office to rent some piece of forest land lying in the district the most suitable for his operations. The Land Commissioner fixes the area and extent of the piece, when the applicant, on payment of an annual fee of 5*l.*, receives an annual licence, empowering him, within certain limits, to fell and sell any quantity of timber.

*Mineral Land* is land leasable for the purpose of mining and working any minerals other than gold. Here, a lease (for any

* In the various pastoral Regulations of New Zealand, one head of horned cattle, or one horse, is counted as equivalent to six sheep.

number of acres not less than 20 nor more than 80) is granted to the applicant for any number of years he may wish not exceeding 21: the lessee paying the local government a royalty or rent of one-fifteenth part of all minerals raised; and having the privilege (after an occupancy of three years) of requiring that the land comprised in his Mining Lease be put up to auction at an upset price of 10*s.* an acre, and sold (but subject to the lease thereof) to the highest bidder.

FREE GRANTS.—Free grants of Country Land are made to General Emigrants, to Naval and Military Settlers, and to School Teachers, as follows:—

GENERAL EMIGRANTS.—Mechanics and labourers, and those who, in contradistinction to mechanics and labourers, are termed "Capitalist-Emigrants," (such as farmers, and graziers, merchants, and traders, retired officers, professional men, and all persons with some little capital who do not go to the colony to work for wages,) may now obtain of certain Auckland Agents residing in this country, documents called "Land Orders," entitling them on arrival to select for themselves, out of any country districts open for settlement, a "free grant" of 40 acres of waste land for each individual over 18 years of age, and 20 acres for each individual between 5 and 18—capitalist-emigrants receiving the same grants for any servants, or labourers, or friends, or relatives whom they may take with them. Thus, a single man would get 40 acres; a married couple 80 acres; a married couple, with, say 2 children under 18, 120 acres; and a capitalist-family, where, counting man and wife, sons and daughters, and servants, there might be a party of, say 10 individuals, would receive 400 acres, and so on; while if on arrival, and on seeing the country, and settling their plans, they desired to be owners of *more* acres than their grant gave them, they would be at liberty to buy any unoccupied or unreserved land adjoining their grants, at the common fixed price of 10*s.* an acre. On reaching Auckland the Emigrant has merely to present his "Land Order" at the Land Office, and get it registered, when he can either go and look at the various dis-

tricts and select his grant at once,* or he can put the "Land Order" in his pocket, and select the grant any time within five years after his arrival. *There are no conditions whatever as to cultivating or occupying a single acre of the grant:* the Grantee may, if he please, move on to it at once, or he may merely select it, and choosing to follow some trade, or calling, or pursuit, in the town, may let his grant lie waste and barren, and only move on to it himself, or let it, when it may suit him so to do. The sole and simple condition is, that the Grantee (and his family or party, if he have one,) shall be resident somewhere in the Province of Auckland, for a period of four years out of the five after his arrival, when the Crown Title is issued to him and he becomes (and only then becomes) at liberty, if it so please, to *sell* this grant.

NAVAL AND MILITARY SETTLERS.—"Every Naval and Military Officer, whether on full or half pay, and every Non commissioned Officer and Private, Marine, and Seaman, whether belonging to Her Majesty's Service or to the service of the East India Company, who may retire or obtain his discharge from the service to which he may belong; or who, having retired or obtained his discharge for the purpose aforesaid, has not selected Land under any former Law or Regulation enabling Naval and Military Settlers to select land free of cost, shall be entitled (in lieu of an allowance in respect of money expended in passages, as hereinbefore provided, in respect of Settlers emigrating from the United Kingdom and elsewhere) to receive from the Commissioner a Land Order, enabling him to acquire Land free of cost after the following rate:—

Commissioned Officer, 400 acres.

Non-commissioned and Warrant Officer, 80 acres.

Private Soldier, Marine, and Seaman, 60 acres.

"Provided always, that any such Officer, Non-commissioned Officer and Private, and any Marine and Seaman, before he shall be entituled to receive any such Land Order, shall prove to

* It should be observed, though, that in any cases where two or more holders of these Free Grant Land Orders should happen to want the same piece of land, it is put up to auction, (confined to such rival claimants,) at 10*s.* an acre, and sold to the highest bidder among them.

the satisfaction of the Commissioner, by certificate or otherwise, that he retired or obtained his discharge for the purpose of settling in the Province of Auckland; and any Non-Commissioned Officer or Private, Marine, or Seaman shall, at the same time, produce to the Commissioner a certificate from the Officer under whom he may have served, of having during his period of service been of good character: provided also, that any such Land Order shall be applied for within twelve calendar months next after such retirement or discharge as aforesaid, or within three months from the passing of this Act, by those who have retired or been discharged."

SCHOOL TEACHERS.—"For the purpose of encouraging persons qualified to teach in Common Schools to settle in the Province of Auckland, every such person who shall produce to the Superintendent a certificate signed by the Chairman of the Board of Education of the said Province, established under the provisions of the Education Act, 1857, that such person is qualified to teach Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, and English Grammar, such person shall be entitled to receive a Land Order for the selection of 80 acres of General Country Land.

"No such Land Order shall be transferable; but the Teacher to whom the same shall be granted shall be entitled to a Crown Grant of the Land selected by him under such Land Order at the expiration of five years from the date of such Order, upon proof to the satisfaction of the Superintendent that such Teacher has been engaged during the whole period of such five years in teaching youth within the said Province in a Common School in connection with the said Board of Education."

STOCK OF AVAILABLE LAND ON HAND.—The Government have a fair stock of "Free Grant" and Country Land on hand in the various districts lying to the north of the town, and which are briefly described at page 129. As to "Leasable" and "Rentable" Waste Lands, I may remark that although there may be portions of various districts which might not prove too woody, or moist, or rough, or broken for *cattle* stations, yet that no tracts of country have yet been purchased from the native owners in the Province of Auckland available for *sheep* runs.

Timber-cutting Lands are, however, plentiful, and the timber trade is one capable of very considerable extension.

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*Digest of the Land Regulations of the Province of Taranaki: enacted by the Provincial Council of Taranaki, assented to by the Governor, and brought into operation in the year* 1855.

THE *Purchaseable* LANDS OF TARANAKI.—These consist of only one sort, viz., Rural Land, offered for sale (in lots of various sizes of from 40 to 240 acres) at monthly auctions, at the uniform reserved price of 10*s.* an acre, in manner following:—

"The biddings at sales of Rural Lands shall be of a certain sum per acre, for a section to be immediately afterwards chosen by the bidder in any district duly declared as open for purchase; all such districts within the Province, or the unsold portions thereof, being at every sale open for selection, and the highest bidder for each successive choice shall accordingly forthwith select a section on the map or plan, and declare his choice to the officer conducting the sale, and shall become the purchaser of the same section at such sum per acre as he shall have last bidden. The said officer shall, after each selection, proceed to invite another set of biddings, and shall so continue the sale on the same, and, if requisite, on the following day or days, so long as there shall be any bidder for a section at the upset price per acre."

THE *Leaseable* LANDS OF TARANAKI.—None of the pastoral tracts of Taranaki having yet been acquired from the native proprietors, no "wild-grazing regulations" have yet been framed. Lands known, or supposed, to be rich in minerals may be set aside for lease on terms to be afterwards agreed on. No timber-cutting licenses are issued by this Province.

NAVAL AND MILITARY SETTLERS.—By section 7 of the Taranaki Land Regulations, officers in purchasing waste-land were entitled to certain "remission money," varying in amount, according to the rank of the purchaser, from 200*l.* to 600*l.* But in the Act of the General Assembly, mentioned in the introductory remarks to this article, and which might almost be described as being at

once a confirmatory and an over-riding act, there stands this clause:—

"Whereas it is desirable to encourage the settlement of Naval and Military Colonists throughout the Northern Island of New Zealand: Be it therefore enacted that Naval and Military Officers, whether on full or half pay, and non-commissioned Officers, Privates, Marines, and Seamen, whether belonging to Her Majesty's service or to the service of the East India Company, who may retire or obtain their discharge from the service to which they may belong, or who, having retired or obtained their discharge for the purpose of settling in the Provinces of New Plymouth or Wellington, have not selected land under any former law or regulation enabling Naval and Military Settlers to select land free of cost, shall be entitled to land free of cost in the said Provinces respectively in like manner and upon the same terms and conditions as Naval and Military Settlers are entitled to land free of cost under 'The Auckland Waste Lands Act, 1858.'"

Thus, naval and military colonists settling in this Province would now be dealt with as they are in Auckland.

Stock of Available Land on Hand.—The Local Government have some 20,000 acres of land for sale; but chiefly forest or bush land. Some of the finest agricultural districts of New Zealand, however, lie in this Province, close to the village town and the adjoining hamlets; but for many years the Taranaki natives, adopting the dog-in-the-manger policy, have persistently refused to sell the Government any of these unused but beautiful tracts; and the scarcity of land in this Province, in the midst of profuse plenty, has been the only cause of the slow progress of this rich and beautiful portion of the Colony.

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*Digest of the Land Regulations of the Province of Wellington—being Regulations consisting partly of Sir George Grey's "General Regulations" of March 1853, and partly of "Additional Regulations, enacted by the Provincial Council of Wellington, and assented to by the Governor," which United Code came into operation in the year* 1855.

The *Purchaseable* Lands of Wellington.—These consist, virtually, of three sorts—viz., Country Land *within* Hundreds;

Country Land *outside* Hundreds; and Country Land for small-farm Settlements. The first (surveyed in lots of various sizes, and with a published reserved price attached to each lot) is offered for sale at publicly-advertised periodical auctions for cash, and knocked down to the highest bidder—the purchaser enjoying certain rights of commonage on the neighbouring waste-lands lying within his Hundred. The second sort is surveyed in lots of various sizes (but generally not less than 40 acres), and sold for cash at a uniform fixed price of 10*s.* an acre. When two or more purchasers happen to apply on the same day for the same lot it is put up to private auction, and knocked down for cash to the highest bidder among such applicants. But where the Land Commissioner shall certify that any portion of this "Country Land *outside* Hundreds (owing, say, to its hilly or broken character) is not *worth* 10*s.* an acre, it is put up (in lots of not less than 80 or more than 640 acres) to auction at the uniform reserved price of 5*s.* an acre, and knocked down for cash to the highest bidder. The third sort is described by the Regulations, and disposed of, as follows:—

"Whenever any Association shall be formed for promoting the settlement and occupation of any reserve set apart for the site of small farms, and shall propose to the Superintendent a plan containing special rules for encouraging such settlement and occupation, it shall be lawful for the Superintendent (on being satisfied of the probable ability of such Association to effect the speedy settlement of such reserve) by Proclamation to vest the administration of the land within such reserve, according to such special rules, in Commissioners appointed by such Association, for a period not exceeding three years: Provided always that the land shall be sold by such Association at the fixed price of ten shillings per acre, payable in cash to the Commissioner from time to time, immediately on the sale of every allotment.

"Whenever any reserve shall have been so made for the site of a small-farm settlement, a block of the adjacent land, as nearly as may be in extent equal to one-third of the reserve, shall by Proclamation be annexed to the reserve as common land, upon which, as well as upon all unsold lands within the reserve, every resident occupier of land in the reserve shall have a right of

pasturage for a period of three years from the date of such Proclamation; the proportionate commonage of each occupier to be fixed by the Association; and during such term none of the said common land so annexed outside the reserve block shall be sold, nor any licence for a run issued therein. At the expiration of such term it shall be lawful for the Superintendent either to renew the same for a further period of three years, or to open the land for sale, after public notice thereof of not less than three months.

THE *Leaseable* LANDS OF WELLINGTON.—These consist of only one sort, viz., wild-grazing land, leaseable in Runs for terms of 14 years at an annually payable rent of ½*d.* per acre for the first 4 years, ½*d.* for the next 5 years, and 1*d.* for the last 5. Within one year after the commencement of his lease the Runholder must have placed on his Run at least 1 ewe for every 20 acres, or 1 cow for every 120 acres, and must keep up this minimum number of breeding stock on the Run during the whole period of his lease. If at any time during the currency of his lease the whole, or any portion of his Run, be required for sale, or be included within the boundaries of any new small-farm settlement, his occupation of the whole, or of any such portion of the Run must cease from and after three months' notice of the completion of such sale in the Government Gazette, or from and after the day of the date of the proclamation by which such new settlement is declared open for occupation. The Runholder may at any time dispose of his interest in his lease (having fulfilled all the conditions thereof up to the period of transfer), and he has a pre-emptive right of purchase (at 10*s.* an acre) to 80 acres surrounding his dwelling-place, but to no more.

NAVAL AND MILITARY SETTLERS receive "free grants" as at Auckland and Taranaki.

STOCK OF AVAILABLE LAND ON HAND.—Owing to the neglect of the Local Government to furnish the public in this country with any periodical reliable information on the subject, it is impossible to speak with precision as to the description and quantity

of the available land now open for purchase or lease.* I may, however, venture to state that, although there may be portions of various districts which might not be unsuitable for *cattle* stations, yet that all the wild-grazing lands both of this Province and Hawkes' Bay, as yet acquired from the natives, and suitable for *sheep*, are already fully occupied. In and about the various little coast settlements described at page 145, and in certain localities on the east coast, too, there is a fair quantity of land open for sale on the "terms and conditions" just named.

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*Digest of the Land Regulations of the Province of Nelson: enacted by the Provincial Council of Nelson, assented to by the Governor, and brought into operation in the year* 1858.

THE *Purchaseable* LANDS OF NELSON.—These consist of two sorts, viz., Country Land of the first class, and Country Land of the second class. The former is surveyed in lots of from 10 to 200 acres; a published reserved price per acre (a price varying from 10*s.* to 20*s.*) is attached to each lot by the Land Office, and the lots are then sold at publicly-advertised periodical auctions for cash to the highest bidder. The latter is sold in the same way, with the difference that the lots may vary in size from 80 to 400 acres, and that the published reserved price per acre must be some price between the lower limits of 5*s.*† and 10*s.* an acre.

* It would be an excellent arrangement if the Local Government of each Province would cause to be published in this country a quarterly statement of the quantity, quality, and position of the various classes of Waste Land which its Land Office might have on hand for sale or lease. To frame six codes of Regulations, numbering upwards of 400 distinct clauses, showing the emigrant public in this country how the various sorts of land are to be disposed of, and to leave them without the slightest official, reliable information as to whether or not the province, at any particular time, possesses all the lands it professes to sell or lease, is surely a somewhat unwise and unprofitable mode of procedure. Indeed, if the Local Governments cannot find time to furnish such periodical "Land Statements," I think the General Government might well (in part) supply the omission by devoting a page or two of their admirable publication, the New Zealand Blue Book, to the purpose of showing intending emigrants in this country what land they could really buy or hire in New Zealand if they went there, and what province possessed the greatest quantity of the peculiar sort they wanted.

† The original Regulations allowed the reserved price to be as low as

THE *Leaseable* AND *Rentable* LANDS.—These consist of three sorts, viz., wild-grazing land, timber-cutting land, and mineral land. The former are leased in Runs, for terms of 14 years, at the annually payable rent of ½*d.* per acre for the first 7 years, and 1*d.* per acre for the last 7—the conditions as to termination of occupancy, quantity of stock, and 80-acre pre-emptive right of purchase, being substantially the same as in Wellington.

Mineral lands and timber-cutting lands are leaseable and rentable on much the same terms and conditions as in Auckland, with the proviso, however, that no timber-cutting licence shall be issued for more than 10 acres.

STOCK OF AVAILABLE LAND ON HAND.—Here, again, the remarks as to the deficiency of official information made in regard to Auckland and Wellington apply equally to Nelson. As will appear from the remarks at page 149, Nelson perhaps contains less available land, in proportion to its area, than any other Province. In the Wairau (now a portion of the new Province of Marlborough), and in certain districts lying nearer the town, a fair supply of perhaps both sorts of the purchaseable Country Land may probably exist; but, without further explorations along the west coast and southern boundaries of the Province should reveal any more pastoral tracts, it may be said that in Nelson, as in Wellington, Hawke's Bay, the "sheep country" is already occupied. Nelson, however, is supposed to be rich in minerals, and at present takes rank as the most auriferous of the Provinces; while around the hundred harbours of her Cook's Strait seaboard there are forest lands sufficient to supply timber for many generations.

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*Digest of the Land Regulations of the Province of Canterbury: enacted by the Provincial Council of Canterbury, assented to by the Governor, and brought into operation in the year* 1856.

THE *Purchaseable* LANDS OF CANTERBURY.—These consist only of one sort, viz., Rural Land, surveyed in lots of not less

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2*s.* 6*d.* per acre; but the late over-riding Act of the General Assembly decrees that no public waste-land in New Zealand shall anywhere be purchaseable at a lower price than 5*s.* an acre.

than 20 acres, and purchaseable at the uniform fixed price of 2*l.* per acre, cash.

*Leaseable* AND *Rentable* LANDS.—These consist of two sorts, viz., wild-grazing land, and timber-cutting land. The former is occupied in the form of yearly tenancies, renewable every May till the year 1870, on the following terms:—For a Run of 1000 acres, a rent of 1*l.* for every 100 acres; for a Run of 1000 and less than 5000 acres, 2*d.* an acre for the first 1000 acres, and 1*d.* per acre for every additional acre; for a Run of 5000 acres, and more, ½*d.* per acre for the first and second years, ¼*d.* for the third and fourth, and ¾*d.* for the fifth and every subsequent year. Tenancy over any portion of the Run to expire when such portion is wanted for sale or public reserves. Tenants of Runs under 5000 acres to have pre-emptive right of purchasing a twentieth part of the run for a homestead at 2*l.* per acre, and tenants of larger Runs to have pre-emptive right of purchasing 250 acres, comprising the homestead, at the same rate. If at any time during the first four years after the issue of the licence the quantity of stock on the Run shall be less than that originally required (viz., one sheep for every two acres, or one head of great cattle for every 120 acres), or during the next three years less than twice that amount, or during any subsequent period less than three times that amount, the Waste-Lands Board may declare the whole or a portion of such Run to be forfeited.

Timber-cutting Land is rentable on much the same terms as in Auckland.

STOCK OF AVAILABLE LAND ON HAND.—There is an abundance of land, contiguous to various of the new villages and townships, open for purchase; but here, as in Wellington and Nelson, Hawke's Bay, the wild-grazing lands suitable for *sheep* have been taken up; and without tracts of pastoral country exist on the west coast of the Province, or near its mid-southern boundaries, not a single good sheep run could now, I think, be obtained in the whole Province.*

* The reader should distinctly understand that, in speaking thus of the "Pastoral Lands" of Canterbury, and, indeed, of all the other Provinces, I am speaking of lands *which could be leased from the Local Government,*

*Digest of the Land Regulations of the Province of Otago: enacted by the Provincial Council of Otago, assented to by the Governor, and brought into operation in the year* 1856.

THE *Purchaseable* LANDS OF OTAGO.—These consist of only one sort, viz., Rural Land, surveyed in lots of various sizes (but not less than ten acres) and purchaseable at the fixed uniform cash price of 10*s.* an acre—but with the condition that the purchaser shall, within a period of four years, expend upon the lot, in the general work of cultivation and improvement, a gross sum equal to a rating of 2*l.* per acre. Waste lands, however, lying outside the boundaries of Hundreds (to the extent of 600,000 acres) are (or were,) purchaseable in blocks of not less than 2000 acres at the uniform price of 10*s.* an acre, without the condition of expending 2*l.* an acre on them.

Some alterations have, however, been proposed in the Otago Regulations: it has been proposed to make the price of the Rural Land 1*l.* per acre instead of 10*s.*; and if this be done I should imagine that the "improvement clause" will be struck out.

It would appear, too, that purchasers of these first-mentioned rural lots have certain rights of commonage over the neighbouring waste-lands lying within the Hundred, at the rate of 5*s.* per head per annum for cattle, and 1*s.* per head for sheep; but clause 56 of the Regulations (the clause which professes to define the persons who shall enjoy these rights of commonage) is so obscurely worded that a casual reader might well suppose that the actual *Landowners* within the Hundred were not *included* among such persons. Indeed, the whole of the voluminous pastoral clauses of the Otago Regulations have been drawn up with great disregard to lucidity; while such is the confusion and obscurity of the "Run-holding" conditions, that they permit the doubt to arise whether, in *addition* to the rent named below, the Runholder may not be liable to that *extra* rent, or assessment of 1*d.* per head for sheep, and 6*d.* per head for cattle, mentioned in section 9, clause 50.

*first hand, on the common Government terms.* In Canterbury, and elsewhere, the new comer would probably, on certain terms, be able to procure a stocked, or part stocked, Run, or portion of a Run, second hand, from some Runholder who had made his little fortune, or who was withdrawing for a time from sheep-farming pursuits.

THE *Leaseable* LANDS.—These consist of three sorts, viz., wild-grazing land, mineral land, and timber-cutting land. The first is leased in Runs, for fourteen years, on the same terms and conditions as in Auckland; but with this very important exceptional provision, namely, that "*during the currency of any lease granted or to be granted of any Run for sheep or cattle situated outside of any Hundred proclaimed or to be proclaimed (if the terms and conditions of such lease shall be and continue to be duly fulfilled), the land forming such Run shall not be liable to be sold, without consent of the Lessee, anything to the contrary herein contained notwithstanding.*"

Lands supposed to contain minerals are leaseable on substantially the same terms and conditions as in Auckland; and timber-cutting lands are rentable in portions of such extent as the Land Board may set off, at a yearly license fee of not less than 1*l.*

STOCK OF AVAILABLE LAND ON HAND.—The observations made on the other Provinces in regard to the deficiency of official information, apply equally to Otaga. In this province, however, as in most of the others, there is virtually a fair supply of available land open for *purchase;* but here as in Canterbury the sheep-runs are occupied—though it is not improbable, I think, that the southern country around Foveaux Straits may present some fine grazing tracts not yet taken up.

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Having thus presented my readers with a digest of our six sets of New Zealand Land Regulations, I will now offer a few remarks on what appear to me to be the most salient features of each of them.

THE AUCKLAND REGULATIONS.—Here, the most original feature is the section providing the 40-acre free grant. To a person living in an old, densely-peopled country, like England, where there are upwards of 300 inhabitants to every square mile, and where land is so scarce and dear, and men so cheap and plentiful, that the price of even a single acre of common farm land

often amounts to a much greater sum than a man's whole year's wages would amount to who helped to till that acre, it might, at first, appear incredible that any country should actually offer to give away forty acres of its wild land in order to add one man to its population. But the reader must remember that the exact reverse of this state of things is the state of things which exists in a young country like New Zealand: *there*, men are scarce and dear; acres, plentiful and cheap. The Province of Auckland is almost half as large as England, and is probably capable of supporting four or five millions of people in easy plenty—but the entire population of the Province of Auckland Native and European, is but 60,000, a smaller number of people than is often found in a single, second-class, English town; and the area of the country would show a proportion of nearly a thousand acres of land for every head of the European population. A young country like New Zealand, however great its size, fine its climate, and rich its soil, is little better than a barren rock while it has no *people*, no *inhabitants*, to turn size and soil and climate to account; and population is just as necessary to such a country, to make it grow and flourish, as food is necessary for the body.

Special Settlement Lands.—Another novel and important feature in the Auckland Regulations is the setting apart of blocks of country land for "Special Settlements," for the purpose of providing suitable locations for any small emigrant communities formed in this country with a view of obtaining the "free grants" in compact *blocks*, and of settling in New Zealand in little semi-independent bodies. In this manner, many of the petty difficulties and disagreeables of emigration might be spared. In this manner, too, a body of Lincolnshire colonists has been located at Monganui; another party from the Isle of Man have formed a little "Manx Settlement;" and two or three flourishing little communities of Nova Scotian and Prince Edward's Island settlers have been planted at Wangarei. A little party of a dozen or twenty families (relatives, or neighbours, or persons of similar religious opinions) emigrating to New Zealand in a *body* might derive many substantial advantages from the co-operative nature of the movement. I have made some remarks on this

subject in the last chapter; and I should always be happy to render the promoters or leaders of any "Special Settlement" party every assistance in my power in carrying out their views.

NAVAL AND MILITARY SETTLERS.—My readers of this order will observe that they are eligible for the "free grant," *only in case they will desert the service for the purpose of getting the grant.* I am unable to fathom the meaning of this condition, and have never yet been fortunate enough to meet with any member of the Auckland Government, or with any agent of the Auckland Government, who could give me the slightest satisfactory explanation as to its aim and object. It may be, that the whole system of "grants," whether made to military or civilian emigrants, is a bad system, springing from a false view of the true art of colonization. But, if in the North Island of New Zealand "grants" *are* to be made to Military and Naval Settlers, I am unable to see on what grounds of equity or common sense they are to be made only to men who will abandon the service for the purpose of obtaining them. I apprehend that the reasons which induced the Auckland Legislature to offer special grants to soldiers and sailors were mainly these:—that, as the principle of our colonies contributing men or money to their own defence, is daily becoming a more popular one, it would be desirable, by means of special grants of land, to seek to attract to the Province of Auckland a body of men familiar with arms, who might lead the colonists in their organization of "Artillery Companies" and "Rifle Corps." The retired soldier or sailor who may take 1000*l.* and half-a-dozen sons and daughters to New Zealand is not, *except in regard to his fighting qualifications*, one whit more valuable an addition to the population than the civilian, the younger son, the barrister, the medical man, or the agriculturist, who may do the same. Red-coat or blue-jacket receives his special grant, because, in *addition* to those general merits as a tiller of soil and a raiser of exports, which he possesses in common with the civilian, he has the *special* merit of being a settler who can use both sword and plough. As, then, the special grant is made him *because*, and *only* because, he has been soldier or sailor, why should it not be made him just the same whether he left the service for *private reasons* in 1859,

or left the service for *the purpose of getting the grant* in 1860? Indeed, this arbitrary condition that no officer shall have a "grant" *without he actually abandon his profession for the express purpose of obtaining the grant*, is one which should at once be swept away. It debars hundreds of retired officers (admirable settlers with rising sons and daughters, and 1000*l.* or 2000*l.* of cash capital) from profiting by the naval and military clauses of the Regulations; while it is utterly fruitless and inoperative in regard to officers who are still in the service, inasmuch as we may rest assured that no military or naval officer would be simple enough to desert his profession, because, if he did so, the Province of Auckland would present him with 200*l.* worth of waste land. Retired officers, non-commissioned officers, seamen, privates, and marines, should, however, recollect that although in consequence of the existence of this provision they may not be eligible for the "special grant," described in the Digest of the Auckland Regulations, they can drop their ex-military or ex-naval character, and apply for and obtain the common 40-acre grant for themselves and families, just like the common emigrant and the civilian.

Taranaki.—The only novel feature in these Regulations is this, that at the land-auction the purchaser does not bid so much per acre for some lot which the auctioneer names and puts up; but bids so much per acre for some lot to be afterwards chosen by himself, should the hammer fall to him as the bidder who offers the highest price per acre for one or other of the various parcels of land standing in the catalogue of the auctioneer.

The system of selling the agricultural wild lands of a colony by auction is a system which is being abandoned by all popular emigration fields. It exposes the *bonâ-fide* buyer of land to all the trickeries of the sale-room; arms every idle speculator and land-sharking capitalist with a most injurious power over the small industrial purchaser; and under the combined operation of the land-sale half-holiday, with its wine and whiskey, of the claptrap of the auctioneer, and the rivalry inseparable from auction-bidding, not unfrequently draws from the little purse of the agricultural emigrant and the rising labourer such a price for his waste land as may render him for years

powerless to cultivate his costly bargain either with advantage to the community or with profit to himself.

In framing the Taranaki Land Regulations, the Provincial Council appears to have been partly awake to these evils, and to have hoped that they might be somewhat moderated by the plan of the bidder declaring his lot only after it was knocked down to him. As far as it goes, this provision is a good one, inasmuch as it is clear that if the *bonâ-fide* agricultural buyer, say A., bade 30*s.* an acre for some lot he had secretly fixed on, speculators B, C, and D, not knowing what lot he had picked out, would be less likely to venture in the dark on outbidding him.

But this exceptional practice of declaring the lot on the fall of the hammer can only partially mitigate the inherent evils of the auction system; and I cannot but hope that our Taranaki and Nelson friends, arriving by degrees at sounder views of the art of colonization, will determine that, whatever may be the price per acre they fix on their country lands, it shall at least be a uniform, *fixed* price—as at Auckland, Canterbury, Otago, and, to some extent, at Wellington.

Wellington.—The Regulations of this Province call for no particular comment: here, as at Auckland, encouragement is held out, in the "small-farm settlements," for the formation of associated bodies of emigrants desirous of founding some little township or community of their own; and here the auction system, though in existence, is confined to the disposal of a portion only of the lands.

Nelson.—The Nelson Regulations are chiefly remarkable for selling no class of waste land save and except by auction; and, coupling this fact with the observations made on the auction system in the remarks on New Plymouth, I have no hesitation in according to the Nelson Regulations the pre-eminence of being the worst in New Zealand.

Canterbury.—The marked feature in the Regulations of this Province is the higher value put on the land—the fixed price of country land in Auckland, Wellington, and Otago, being 10*s.* an acre, whilst in Canterbury it is 2*l.* To account for this apparent

anomaly, my readers should understand, first, that owing to the more level and easily cleared character of the country, Canterbury land is held by the Canterbury people to be more valuable than much of the land in the North Island; and, secondly, that as in railway economics there was a rivalous broad and narrow gauge school, so in colonisation economics is there a rivalous high and low price school—the former, consisting of those who would attach a comparatively high price to wild land; the latter, of those who would keep the price low. Both these schools have found disciples in New Zealand: Canterbury has ever been a believer in the good policy of the "high price," or rather of the "sufficient price," as it is called; while Auckland has ever been a prominent advocate of the "low price."

I should be sorry to inflict on my readers a statement of a tithe of the pleas and reasonings which have been advanced by either party in support of its favourite theory. The main arguments of the "high price" school against a "low price" for land, are, however, reducible to three, and may be stated in substance as follows:—1st. That under a "low price" no fund is raised by land sales wherewith labour can be imported, and wherewith roads and bridges and other improvements necessary to give *value* to the wild land can be made; and that land at two *pounds* an acre in a settlement where labour is readily obtainable, and where roads and good access to near markets exist, may be considerably cheaper to buy and cultivate than land at two *shillings* per acre where these things are not found. 2nd. That under a "low price" system, mechanics and labourers rush to the Land Office as soon as they arrive in the Colony, and make themselves masters of thousands of acres of wild land, when they do one of two things—that is, they either move on to the land and try to cultivate it without 5*l.* of capital to help them, in which case they become mere little pauper proprietors, and, not appearing in the labour-market, leave agriculturists and employers without labour; or they do *not* move on to the land, but cluster together in the villages or towns; in which case, tracts of wild land in the neighbourhood are kept lying waste and barren, a circumstance which causes a most injurious dispersion of the new settlement, and which tends to drive the

real cultivators of the soil (agriculturists, graziers, dairy farmers, and others) into the more remote districts of the wilderness, where roads, bridges, and markets have either not penetrated, or where roads, bridges, and markets are few and far between. 3rd. That the "low price" system without any conditions as to *cultivating* the land, or without the imposition of some effective wild-land tax, enables any grasping capitalist or land-shark to buy up and monopolise tracts of country which, to the great prejudice of the smaller cultivators and the injury of the public, he may retain in their barren state until the progress of settlement and the labours of the community have forced up the value of them some hundreds per cent., when, choosing to sell, he pockets large sums for a property which he has done nothing to create, but which has been built up for him, the lazy drone, by the hard labours of the neighbour bees.

On the other side, the advocates of a comparatively "low price" for wild land contend, and I think with great reason, 1st. That most men who emigrate at all do so in the hope of acquiring land and creating some little freehold estate; that if a high price like 2*l.* per acre be the price a man has to pay for his wild acres, and he wants a few hundred acres, the first cost of his raw land, coupled with his heavy expenses in reaching the distant colony, amount to so large a sum, that by the time he has fairly planted himself *on* his land his little capital is exhausted, and he has no money left wherewith to employ labour and commence the cultivation of it. 2nd. That the quick purchase of land by the labourer when the price is low does not (as is alleged) altogether remove him from the labour market, inasmuch as, for some time at least, he must and does work for an employer in order to enable him to get a little cash wherewith to purchase necessaries; and that, looking at this and at the fact that under a "low price" system hundreds of labourers will introduce themselves into the new country (or will be carried there by capitalist-emigrants), who would not be seen there under any other system, the rates of labour will be found to be quite as low in a "low price" settlement as in a "high price" one.* 3rd. That the great want of all young countries is *popu-*

* This has been strikingly exemplified at Canterbury: labour has long been some 50 per cent higher there than in Auckland.

*lation*, bringing with it capital and labour, and that a "low price" for land operates as such a powerful allurement both to what are called "capitalist-emigrants" and to "working men," that the colony or emigration field which *offers* this inducemen will increase considerably faster in population, and make far greater progress, than the colony or emigration field where the price of waste land is high.

OTAGO.—The most striking peculiarity here is the condition that the purchaser shall within four years from the time of his purchase, show a gross expenditure in the cultivation and improvement of his lot of a sum equal to 2*l.* per acre. As a general rule, it is not good policy to fetter the emigrant-buyer of waste-land with any conditions as to the cultivation of it. But looking at the low price and good quality of Otago's rural land, and recollecting the evils inflicted on a young community by speculative capitalists buying up blocks of country and keeping them in the "wilderness-state" until their value might be centupled by the incoming of population, it appears to me that this "improvement-condition" of the Otago Regulations is, on the whole, a judicious one—for while it does not press hard on the actual cultivator of the soil, who in the majority of cases would be found to have improved his land to a much greater extent than that of 2*l.* per acre, it is well calculated to prevent the unfruitful monopoly of the soil by speculator and land shark.

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Such is a brief digest of the six voluminous sets of Land Regulations which the various provinces of New Zealand have thought fit to set up; and though two or three of them present some excellent features, not one of them, I think, is free from some very grave defects. The best mode of disposing of the wild lands of a new country is, however, a question partaking so much of the character of a dry discussion on a point of political economy, that in deference to the tastes of the great majority of my readers I might well, perhaps, in a volume of this unpretending character, pass it over without a word. Still, as the wild lands of a young colony form its great public

exchequer, supplying half its revenue and three-fourths of its people, the best mode of *managing* such an exchequer is a very important consideration; and if at the end of this work it should appear that space can be afforded for an appendix, I will venture, there to sketch that (fancied) model Set of Land and Immigration Regulations, which some experience of emigrants and emigration, and a long observation of the practical working of the "Wild-Land Laws," both of New Zealand and of other colonies, lead to believe would be the most popular and productive set, which every province of New Zealand could now adopt.

The *pastoral* Regulations of the various provinces are, however, so faulty and unfair, that I cannot run the risk of finding myself left at the end without space to touch on them; but will here, with the reader's permission, offer a remark or two on their leading features, and suggest the remedy for a very grave defect which, as it seems to me, runs through each and all of them. It will be seen that the wild grazing, or Runholding, Regulations of the various Provinces are substantially alike;* and it appears to me that one great paramount objection applies to each and all of them,† namely this—*that in limiting the Runholders' "pre-emptive right of purchase" to a mere patch of eighty acres‡ round his dwelling they treat him with singular*

* The rental of the Run, the assessment per head on the stock, and certain minor conditions, are not precisely the same in each Province; but they do not vary much, and these things are matters of but secondary importance to the Runholder, compared with the great matter of "security of tenure," and the still greater one of "pre-emptive right."

† Another, and a very important objection, though relatively a minor one, might also be raised against all the Pastoral Regulations, except against those of Otago—namely, that when any Run or any portion thereof be required for sale, or for other public purposes, the "notice" given to the Runholder to cease occupation and take away his stock is far too short and sudden. Otago appears to have become sensible of the injustice of subjecting the Runholder to this capricious insecurity of tenure, and by an amendment in her original Regulations, provides by clause 3 (given in the Digest) that when once the fourteen years' lease has been granted, nothing shall be suffered to disturb the Runholder during the whole period of his tenure—a provision, perhaps, which goes too far, and one which may be liable to inflict injury in an opposite direction.

‡ Canterbury, certainly, allows a more extended "pre-emptive right"—but in regard to the principle of the thing, Canterbury even does not go half far enough—though in practice, looking to the 2*l.* per acre price, it is probable that she gives the pre-emptive right of purchase to quite as great an extent as Runholders will generally care to profit by.

*impolicy and injustice.* My readers should understand that the New Zealand Runholder (or "Squatter," as he is somewhat vulgarly and inaptly called) is one of the most valuable members of the New Zealand community: a true working bee, annually producing a goodly store of flesh and fleece, and hoof and horn. Runholders, in fact, and Agriculturists are the two classes of the community who raise from the soil nine-tenths of the colony's exports; and merchants and traders (mere buyers and sellers), and mechanics and labourers, may be said, for the most part, to revolve round Runholders and Agriculturists, and to live on and by the products and profits which these create from the land for the common good. But it is not alone because the Runholder produces most of the young colony's wealth that he is so valuable a member of the colony's population—the very *manner* in which he produces this wealth, the very "mode and method" by which he stocks the export market, is one which gives him an additional claim on the goodwill of the community. The Runholder, we must recollect, is ever the pioneer of civilization—it is he who with his flocks and herds first advances to do battle with the waste, and who shows the road whereby less hardy spirits may follow in his track, dotting the wilderness in their progress with glebe and garden and spire and town. He is not only a producer of wealth himself, but he is the cause of its production in others. Both for what he does, and for the manner of his doing it, no member of the New Zealand community merits better treatment at the hands of the New Zealand public than the Runholder; and if at his request the community were to make some little sacrifice of public interests for his benefit, it is probable that the community would find itself in the end amply repaid for its apparent liberality. But the Runholder, in asking that his pre-emptive right of purchase be extended beyond the limits of the eighty-acre homestead patch, so far from asking the public to *sacrifice* anything in his favour, would be proposing an arrangement equally beneficial to the community as to himself. The wild grass lands of New Zealand, it must be borne in mind, are of limited extent; perhaps in both islands there is not now left unoccupied grass country sufficient to form a hundred good sheep-runs. The average area of the runs at present occupied, coupled with that of the whole of those which

by degrees may be discovered, may be roughly estimated at from ten to twelve millions of acres, capable in their common wild grass state, and under the rude run-holding system, of supporting only one sheep to three acres; or, in other words, of giving the colony a flock of only some three or four millions of merinoes. Experience shows that a large portion of these lands laid down in pasture, at a moderate outlay, will support three or four sheep an acre:* and I believe no practical man would deny that if the best of the wild-grazing lands of New Zealand were laid down in grass, and "run-holding" were partly and by degrees to be abandoned for "field-grazing," the result would be that in a few years the colony might boast a flock of from ten to fifteen millions of sheep, and have an annual export of wool and tallow to the amount of some millions sterling, instead of one of the value of only a few hundred thousand pounds. Indeed, the pastoral lands of New Zealand, coupled as they are with a climate almost made for sheep and cattle, are too limited in extent, too capable, for a large part, of cheap cultivation and improvement, and altogether too good and valuable to be used as mere wild-grazing land for depasturing stock at the sorry rate of the third of a sheep to an acre; and New Zealand colonists, who look a little forward, are well aware that nothing would tend more to promote the interests of their country than some quiet self-working movement by which "runs" should be multiplied into "estates," and Run-holders encouraged to convert themselves step by step into wealthy landed proprietors and graziers of stock on the grass-field system.

Now nothing would tend more to bring about this great desideratum than a clause in all the wild-grazing Regulations of the Colony endowing the Runholder with a pre-emptive right of purchase to as many acres of his Run as, when brought gradually under cultivation, would be sufficient to form him such an estate as it would be worth his while to commence to create. While the Runholder's right of purchase is confined to a mere 80-acre cabbage plot round his hut, not the slightest encouragement is

* This is a very low estimate: it is said that many of the farm pastures, with a few turnips to help out, are capable of carrying and fattening six and seven sheep an acre the year through.

offered him to expend a penny in sowing down any portion of his Run into grass so as to allow (for the profit of the community as well as his own) of his grazing three sheep an acre instead of the third of one; not the slightest inducement is offered him to improve a rood of the waste he leases; his Run is portion of the wilderness when he *takes* possession of it, and (so far as he is concerned) it may remain a portion of the wilderness fourteen years after when he *quits* possession of it; for if he be tempted to lay out a thousand or so in improving any portion, he is liable, any day, to hear that such portion is wanted for sale or for some public purpose, when, as he might not have, and frequently *would* not have, the 1000*l.* or 2000*l.* cash in hand necessary to buy the land for himself, he would not only lose his grazing right over such portion of his Run, but would lose every stiver of the handsome sum he had been ass enough to expend on it. If, on the contrary, on taking possession of his Run, there were marked off for him a certain fair portion of it over which, on some such terms as those named at page 336, he were given a preferential right of purchase, he would, I have no doubt, in the great majority of the cases, elect to exercise such right. And, feeling secure that such portion of the Run would eventually become his own freehold, he would soon commence to employ his spare time and labour, and to expend a portion of his yearly grazing profits, in cultivating and improving it; until, some day, he might find himself no longer a mere lodger in the wilderness, taking up 20,000 acres of the public land in depasturing 5000 sheep, and liable at any time to be driven from his Run, but might find himself the rich and settled proprietor of a grass estate of a couple of thousand acres, equal to the feeding of from 6000 to 8000 sheep, and of the possible cash-value of from 10,000*l.* to 15,000*l.*

As before observed, results like these which, slowly perhaps, but surely, would spring from a liberal extension of the "pre-emptive right of purchase," would not be more beneficial to the Runholder himself than to the public at large. Under such a change in the pastoral Regulations and pastoral pursuits of New Zealand as is here suggested, the attractiveness of the Colony as an emigration field for our larger capitalist families would be much increased, and their field for enterprise and investment

greatly widened,* the demand for labour and the opening for the profitable employment of it might be doubled; the land-sales fund available for the import of labour would be considerably enlarged, and the labouring population of the colony, one of its chief but dependent sources of strength, might thus be more freely introduced; the general work of colonisation, the planting of "small-farm settlements," the establishment of little "special communities," the founding of towns and villages, the progress of the plough from the coast into the interior, would be greatly facilitated; while the production of the "Golden Fleece" might be so increased as to render New Zealand one of the mother-country's most fruitful offshoots, and, youth considered, one of the richest and most flourishing colonies in the world.

Though, however, the more advanced and enlightened of our Run holders and Agriculturists are well aware of the advantages which would ensue both to the colony and the individual if our Squatters would convert themselves into Freehold Graziers, there are still to be found, in certain Bœotian localities in New Zealand, stolid men of the squatting body who still, pig-headedly, repeat the parrot cry that there is nothing like "squatting," and that buying land won't pay. This cry is akin to

* I am now called on to answer numerous inquiries from small-capitalist families, beginning to contemplate emigration to New Zealand, and from the insight thus gained into their "views and wishes," I believe that for the men with rising families, and capitals of from 1500*l.* to 3000*l.*, (men who make admirable colonists, and who form a very large portion of the "uneasy classes" of this country,) pastoral pursuits commencing as I have described, and easily and smoothly leading to the gradual creation of a good landed estate, would form a very attractive and profitable investment and career. A career, too, which, I think would soon become open to numbers of them; for, under the system I have sketched, it is reasonable to suppose that many of the present Runholders, when they had purchased their 2000 acres and had fairly got settled, would find plenty to do in the work of perfecting and completing their estates, and would be ready to dispose of their interest in the surrounding thousands of acres of their Runs to new comers, who would offer fair terms for the transfer of the lease, and who would settle down near them and become estate-creating, helping neighbours. Again, though undoubtedly most of the wild-grazing lands of New Zealand, wholly and specially adapted for *sheep* are taken up, yet there are tracts of country in each province where *cattle* and a few sheep might be depastured with profit; and here, if he only enjoyed the 2000 acre pre-emptive right of purchase, the new comer might frequently lease a Run with every prospect of success.

the old cry of the boroughmongers against reform, to the old cry of the coach proprietary against railroads, to the old cry which ever heralds in the coming of a great reform. It has paid, it does pay, and it will pay to buy wild lands in New Zealand and convert them into grazing farms. "A," investing 3000*l.* or 4000*l.* in sheep farming, on the squatting system, may have a better result to show at the expiration of his first five years than "B," who invested a similar sum in buying land and creating a grazing estate. But, if the property of each were sold at the expiration of the second five years, I believe that the latter would prove to be the richer man. But if not, if squatting were everywhere, and always the most profitable pursuit, it is a pursuit which has reached its limits in New Zealand simply because there is no more land to squat on. Indeed, if the argument of the old squatting party were pushed to its conclusions, it would show that New Zealand, a country as large as the United Kingdom, is already fully peopled, and that emigration must stop. For these men virtually assert that squatting is the only pursuit which pays in New Zealand; and we see that for want of land, squatting can no longer be carried on in New Zealand.

The Canterbury men have ever been loudest in the cry that there is nothing like leather, and that squatting, squatting pure and simple, one sheep on four acres, is the only thing to be looked to. With land like theirs at 2*l.* per acre, it might perhaps be somewhat hazardous to put down 4000*l.* for 2000 acres of it; but there are provinces in New Zealand where wild land is to be obtained at 5*s.* and 10*s.* an acre; and I assert that any capitalist emigrant, now going to New Zealand, would do infinitely better to purchase two or three thousand acres in one of these provinces, and to turn his freehold by degrees into a grazing farm, than to go to, Canterbury and pay any retiring squatter there 1000*l.* or 1500*l.* for the mere transfer of his lease, and the goodwill of his Run.*

Obtuse gentlemen of the pastoral interest who cannot

* 1500*l.* has actually been asked in Canterbury for the mere transfer of the bare lease of a Run; and, if fools are found to give Canterbury squatters fancy prices for their Runs like these, we may rest assured that it will be some time before the Canterbury squatters cease to cry up "squatting."

see that squatting may be the best pursuit in the early days of a young country, and yet not be the best pursuit in the later days of a young country, and who would still array the youth in the infant's bib, are fond of quoting Mr. Weld, our king of squatters, as an authority on their side. But I fear they quote this gentleman without having read him; and I would commend the following passage, from the third edition of his excellent pamphlet, to their serious consideration:—

"It will be apparent that in the foregoing pages I have referred chiefly to sheep-farming on wild pasture, generally held under license from the Crown, in fact to what, by an incorrect use of an Australian term, is usually called 'Squatting.' I have also chiefly adapted my remarks to capitalists with a capital of from two to five thousand pounds. But men of large means, who may wish to invest their 15,000*l.* or 20,000*l.* in a station, may often find the opportunity of buying at remunerative prices, taking sheep, improvements, and a certain amount of freehold land. Capitalists on this scale will, as a rule, buy a considerable tract of country in those parts of New Zealand where land, fit for pastoral purposes, is sold at five and ten shillings an acre. A man who buys judiciously at these prices will doubtless, if he can afford to lock up his capital for some years, make a large profit and create a valuable estate—but cheap and dear are merely comparative words, and I have known better investments in land at 5*l.* than many at five shillings an acre.

"However, where land has been sold by Government at a low price, holders of licenses have been compelled in self-defence to buy their 'Runs,' or to give up their business; consequently, in several of the older districts, the 'Runs' are chiefly freehold, and will, by the expenditure of further capital, be, by degrees, divided by fences; and, wherever a plough or a scarifying machine can be brought to work, will be sown in artificial grasses. This ("buying of land") should be the ultimate object of every sheep-farmer—it would have been bad economy formerly, because, in those days, the supply of land so far exceeded the demand that the land was valueless, as I have before said, in comparison with capital and labour; now as the progress of the

Colony is gradually reversing these conditions, what was before good economy would now become ignorant waste, were it not superseded by higher farming.

"But though the large capitalist will at length necessarily become, (and if he understands his true interests, soon become in several parts of the country,) to a certain extent a cultivator—I wish, now even, more especially, to point out to the small capitalist, especially of the yeoman class, *that under the altered state of the Colony, it may probably be best for him, particularly if he have a family, and his capital is under* 2000*l.* *or* 3000*l.*, *to buy a few hundred acres of really good open land, not far from some settlement, with a view of laying it down in grass.* Let him not think so much of the first cost-price of the land—as to see that it is good land for the cultivation of grasses, that it has good land or water carriage, and is in other respects suitable to his purposes; let him year by year lay this down in grass—his proximity to town will generally give him an advantage with his fat stock, and even with his butter and cheese, over the large runholder. He will enjoy many advantages in a social point of view, which he must forego if living in 'the bush;' and of course if he pays more for land, so on the other hand, will his land if judiciously selected, (being in a comparatively settled district), rise in value much more rapidily than if he had acquired a property larger, but more distant from a mucleus of colonisation. *I will add for his encouragement, that there is much land in New Zealand that when cultivated, grassed and fenced, will keep eight sheep to the acre all the year round—and also, that is proportionately good for cattle."—Weld's New Zealand Sheep-Farming.*

I venture to think that this passage tends to show that buying wild lands and creating stock farms *does* pay in New Zealand; and that it would be desirable if such changes as I have suggested in our runholding terms for the encouragement of land buying were now to be afforded to our Runholders; and I venture further, to think that Mr. Weld would agree with me in saying, that if we are ever to count ten or twenty millions of sheep in New Zealand, and are to have a wool export of the value of three or four millions sterling, we shall not do it by *Squatting* but by *Grazing*.

The following are the runholding "terms and conditions" alluded to at page 331, and, I think, would be a great improvement on any we have yet adopted :—

I.

After the Run had been taken possession of, the Runholder to be entitled to require the Land Office to mark off, in one continuous block, some portion of his Run not exceeding 2000 (or 3000) acres. The boundaries of such portion to be rudely indicated by hills, streams, trees, or posts; and such portion to be so selected and shaped by the Land Office as to give it only a fair proportion of the natural advantages of the Run in respect to wood, water, frontage, boundaries, and other constituents of intrinsic value.

II.

On the marking-off of such portion of the Run, the Runholder to be at perfect liberty to do what he pleased on it; to exercise all rights of ownership over it, except the right of selling it; and to be entitled at any period of his lease, not later than the last month of the fifth year, to purchase such portion of his Run at the fixed, uniform, cash price of 10*s.* an acre.

III.

Runholders already in occupation, and with whom the *first* five years of the lease had expired, to be entitled to purchase a like portion of their Runs, on the same terms, at any period during the *second* five years of the lease; or if the second five years had also expired, to enjoy the same privileges at any period before the complete expiration of the lease.

IV.

All "terms and conditions" of the original lease, other than those relating to any pre-emptive right of purchase, to remain in force precisely as if no extension of the right of purchase had been provided as by Clauses I., II., and III.

REMARKS.—Except in Canterbury, the most general price of country land in New Zealand may be called 10*s.* an acre. The Runholder, therefore, in paying this price, would generally pay as much as any other purchaser, and of course his money would be just as good as the money of any other purchaser. The full usufruct

of the land from the first, with the privilege of buying it five years afterwards, would virtually be the same as giving the Runholder five years' credit. And I would give him this little advantage over the general land buyer, partly for the reasons already mentioned, and partly for the reason that if the Runholder could be tempted to purchase a portion of his Run and to turn it into a frontier estate, he would much facilitate the progress of settlement and civilisation, and materially increase the value of every lot of land which the general buyer might afterwards purchase in his neighbourhood. In any new district opened for settlement where the wild country might be dotted over with the farms and homesteads of these estate-creating Runholders, the new settlers (whether small yeomen and little dairy farmers, or mechanics and labourers; or traders and shopkeepers, located in some neighbouring new village) would find themselves in possession of many "helps and aids" in the work of first settling down, which they would *not* find in a new district where the Runholder had not pioneered the way and planted his home. Each Runholder's estate, indeed, would be a little oasis of civilisation in the midst of the wilderness—supplying the fresh-arriving and ofttimes helpless settler with such necessaries as young stock, horse and bullock labour, seed-corn, farm, garden, and dairy produce; and furnishing the unpractised emigrant with many a hint on New Zealand farming and grazing, which would materially smooth his way and substantially increase the value of his land.

## CHAPTER XVII.

STATISTICS — TARIFF — MERCANTILE CHARGES—PRICES—WAGES—POSTAL REGULATIONS—OFFICIAL DIRECTORY—NEW ZEALAND LIBRARY.

One of the most practically beneficial acts of the General Assembly of New Zealand, and one for which it deserves the thanks both of the colonists at home and of intending emigrants in the mother country, is the annual publication of a "Statistical Blue Book," showing, year by year, the advance made in population, agriculture, and in trade; and recording many facts relating to the industrial and social progress of the colony eminently useful to all who are interested in watching the rising fortunes of our young Britain of the South. Under the able supervision of the Registrar General, Mr. Bennett, this publication is every year improving in scope, detail, and typographical execution, and bids fair soon to become as perfect a work as the statist could desire to possess. The last volume, issued in 1859, gives us the statistics of 1858, and, supplementing to these the returns of preceding years, shows us the progress made during the last year or two in the various departments of our colonial industry and general advance.

It would have been easy to have presented the reader with a mere abridgement of these Statistics of 1858—but a young growing colony like New Zealand sometimes exhibits as great a change, as great a progress, in five years, as an old, full-grown country like England exhibits in five and twenty; so that had I contented myself with merely copying the figures of '58, I might have given my readers a very erroneous and unflattering idea of the real statistical position attained by New Zealand by the end of the year 1860. Having before me the mean annual ratio of increase exhibited in the various items for the past year or two, and having reason to believe that this ratio has, on the whole, been since maintained, I have added it to the

returns for 1858, and have thus presented the reader with half a dozen tables showing, approximately, how New Zealand may fairly be expected to stand in population, revenue, agriculture, and trade, on the 1st of January, 1861.

There may have been certain disturbing causes which, in certain items, have diminished or enlarged the past ratio of increase; while it is probable that the increase in our emigrant population was greater in 1859 than it was in 1860, or than it will be in 1861—but I venture to think that when we get the Registrar's volume for 1860, it will be found that, on the whole, I am not far wrong in my estimates, and that I have at least given the reader a clearer idea of the true, present position of New Zealand, in "matters statistical," by offering him the following tables, than I should have done had I contented myself with merely placing before him the old facts and figures of the year 1858.*

* Since these remarks passed through the press, the Hon. Mr. Stafford, Colonial Secretary of New Zealand, has been good enough to forward me a copy of the "New Zealand Blue Book for 1859," together with some interesting and pregnant documents on the New Zealand War. I am therefore enabled to lay before the reader a more accurate set of tables for the year 1860 than I could have done had I been obliged to rely solely on the data afforded by the statistics of 1858.

## TABLE I.

SHOWING (*as compared with the* MOTHER COUNTRY *in* 1860) *the* *and* IMPORT TRADE, *of the* SIXTEEN BRITISH

| Name of Colony. | Age of Colony.† | Area of Colony. |
|---|---|---|
| United Kingdom . . . | 500 yrs. | 120,000 sq. miles, or 80,000,000 acres |
| 1. Canada . . . . . | 100 „ | Thrice the size of the United Kingdom |
| 2. New Brunswick . . . | 100 „ | One-fourth the size of U. K. . . . |
| 3. Nova Scotia and Cape Breton . . . . . | 100 „ | One-fifth the size of U. K. . . . |
| 4. Prince Edward's Island . | 100 „ | One-sixtieth the size of U. K. . . . |
| 5. Newfoundland . . . . | 100 „ | One-half the size of U. K. . . . . |
| 6. British Columbia . . . | 5 „ | Twice the size of U. K. . . . . |
| *North American Group—mean and totals* . . | 100 „ | Five times larger than U. Kingdom . |
| 7. The Cape Colony . . . | 60 „ | The same size as U. K. . . . . |
| 8. British Kaffraria . . . | .. | .. .. .. |
| 9. Natal . . . . . | 15 „ | One-sixth the size of U. K. . . . . |
| *South African Group—mean and totals* . . | 37 „ | Larger than United Kingdom . . . |
| 10. New South Wales . . . | 50 „ | Thrice the size of U. K. . . . . |
| 11. New Zealand . . . . | 10 „ | The same size as U. K. . . . . |
| 12. Queensland . . . . | 20 „ | Three times the size of U. K. . . . |
| 13. Victoria . . . . . | 20 „ | The same size of U. K. . . . . |
| 14. South Australia . . . | 25 „ | Nearly three times the size of U. K. |
| 15. West Australia . . . | 30 „ | Seven times the size of U. K. . . . |
| 16. Tasmania . . . . . | 50 „ | One-sixth the size of U. K. . . . |
| *Australasian Group—mean and totals* . | 30 „ | Eighteen times larger than U. Kingdom |
| Gross Totals, and general mean . . . . . | 55 „ | More than twenty times larger than United Kingdom . . . . . |

* In what I regard as the true, or the modern acceptance of the word, we have no more than the sixteen colonies here enumerated. True, in Blue Books and official documents emanating from Downing Street, many little islands and tracts of country under the name of "Possessions," or "Plantations" are classed with "Colonies." But it seems to me that the classing of such little spots of rock and bits of coast as Bahama and Bermuda, Sierra Leone and St. Helena, Honduras and Heligoland, with great colonies like those of Canada and the Cape, Australia and New Zealand, is almost as incongruous as if the naturalists were to class the tomtit with the turkey, or the tadpole with the whale.

## TABLE I.

AGES, AREAS, POPULATIONS, *and* "DECLARED VALUE" *of the* EXPORT COLONIES *which are* "EMIGRATION FIELDS." *

| Number of Inhabitants to the Square Mile. | British Population.‡ | Present value of Annual Exports and Imports § | Value of Annual Exports and Imports per head of the Population: showing the relative wealth of the inhabitants of each Colony in respect to their powers of production and consumption. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 250 | 30,000,000 | £300,000,000 | £10 |
| 7 | 2,500,000 | £14,000,000 | £ 6 |
| 7 | 220,000 | 3,000,000 | 14 |
| 13 | 300,000 | 1,500,000 | 5 |
| 23 | 50,000 | 500,000 | 10 |
| 2 | 120,000 | 2,000,000 | 17 |
| $0\frac{1}{13}$ | 20,000 | | .. |
| 8 | 3,210,000 | £21,000,000 | £10 |
| 2 | 300,000 | £4,000,000 | £13 |
| .. | 10,000 | .. .. | .. |
| 1 | 20,000 | 300,000 | 15 |
| $1\frac{1}{2}$ | 330,000 | £4,300,000 | £14 |
| $0\frac{3}{4}$ | 360,000 | £10,000,000 | £30 |
| $0\frac{3}{4}$ | 85,000 | 2,700,000 | 30 |
| $0\frac{1}{50}$ | 10,000 | 200,000 | 20 |
| 4 | 550,000 | 26,000,000 | 52 |
| $0\frac{3}{8}$ | 130,000 | 3,000,000 | 26 |
| $0\frac{1}{50}$ | 20,000 | 200,000 | 10 |
| 4 | 85,000 | 2,600,000 | 30 |
| $1\frac{1}{4}$ | 1,240,000 | £44,700,000 | £28 |
| $3\frac{1}{2}$ | 4,780,000 | £70,000,000 | £17 |

† Some remarks on the "age" of colonies will be found at page 184, and in putting down the mother country as 500 years old, I think we are making her about the same age, relatively, as that which as been fixed on for each colony.

‡ In Canada and the Cape colony there are about a million of colonists who, by descent, are French and Dutch—but, virtually, these people are now British colonists.

§ Nearly three-fifths of this trade is a *direct* trade with the United Kingdom.

The preceding Table, compiled with some trouble, and which will, I think, be found pretty accurate, may perhaps supply an answer to those short-sighted economists who are fond of asserting that colonies are but national encumbrances costing the mother country more than they are worth. Here, we see that, in three great groups, the mother country possesses sixteen emigration colonies, having a territory twenty times larger than her own, and already numbering a population of nearly five millions of British colonists, who have already created an export and import trade of the value of seventy millions sterling per annum. This trade, created and possessed by *five* millions of colonists, is only three-fourths less in amount than the whole of the export and import trade created and possessed by the *thirty* millions of people in the United Kingdom; and it is worthy of remark, that three-fourths of it is carried on by British shipping, and is created by the colonies sending to the mother country raw materials, such as bullion, wool, tallow, oil, hides, bread-stuffs, timber, and copper ores, and by their purchasing of her British manufactures, in return. The trading profits—indeed, glancing at the remarks in the Appendix, we may add, the *social* and *political* profits, too,—accruing to the mother country from this vast and rapidly increasing trade are enormous, and she now obtains them at a small cost. In respect to their civil government, the great majority of these sixteen "emigration colonies," like New Zealand, are self-supporting, and while they do not cost the mother country a penny for their government, they offer her a fine field of patronage in the appointment of their Governors and Judges. As to military and naval protection, there are, I think, but 14 regiments and 25 vessels of war* now stationed throughout the whole of them, and as this force is stationed there, quite as much for "imperial" as for "colonial" purposes, it may be said that the cost of guarding and protecting these sixteen vigorous saplings of the parent oak is no more than the cost of the maintenance of a body of some 7000 troops and of a squadron of a dozen sloops

* The Army List, a publication which I had relied on as one which would give the stations of all our regiments, was found, at the eleventh hour, to contain no such information. The number of regiments here put down is, therefore, only the number which I assume to be, and which I think will prove to be, about correct.

of war. Indeed, if the mother country wished to strike a balance, and to see in £ *s. d.*, the cost and returns arising from her possession of these sixteen colonies, I am inclined to think, that the following figures might be taken as a rough, or conjectiural, approximation to the truth.

| | £ |
|---|---|
| Annual trading profits derived from supplying the sixteen emigration colonies with British manufactures to the amount say of £30,000,000 sterling per annum—together with the profits derived from that portion of the mother country's trade with foreign countries which is created by her manufacture and sale of exported goods produced from the raw materials which she draws from her 16 emigration colonies, to which have to be added the profits accruing to the shipping of the mother country employed in carrying on such export and import trade, say . . . . . | 10,000,000 |
| Annual "cost" of the sixteen colonies: mainly incurred in providing them with 7 regiments and 12 vessels of war, say | 2,000,000 |
| Balance of annual trading profits of the mother country, derived from her possession of the sixteen emigration colonies—the social and political profits (glanced at in the Appendix to this work), which she derives from her colonies, being profits in addition, impossible to be put in the shape of figures . . . . . | £8,000,000 |

## TABLE II.

| | | Mean Ratio of Annual Increase. |
|---|---|---|
| Present Colonist Population of New Zealand . | 85,000 | 18 per cent. |
| Present Public Annual Revenue . . . . . | £500,000 | 15 ,, |
| Value of Present Annual Imports . . . . | £2,000,000 | 17 ,, |
| Value of Present Annual Exports . . . . | £700,000 | 17 ,, |
| Present Tonnage of Shipping Annually Entering the New Zealand Ports . . . . . | tons 250,000 | 20 ,, |
| Present Extent of Cultivated Land and of Land Fenced . . . . . | acres 500,000 | 20 ,, |
| Present Number of Live Stock . . . . | head 2,300,000 | 20 ,, |

Thus, to every head of the population there are about £6 of public revenue—£30 of annual imports and exports—3 tons of annual shipping—6 acres of fenced or cultivated land—and 30 head of live stock. If this relation between the individual unit of the population and the wealth of the State existed in the mother country, the following would be the results :—

| | As it is. | As it would be on the New Zealand Scale. |
|---|---|---|
| Public Annual Revenue of the Mother Country . . . . . | £70,000,000 | £180,000,000 |
| Value of Annual Exports and Imports | £300,000,000 | £900,000,000 |
| Number of Live Stock . . . . . | head 150,000,000 | head 900,000,000 |

I trust I shall not be accused of making an impertinent use of figures, here. I am aware that there is such an institution as the Bank of England, and that there are such things as piles of bullion and magnificent public works, and mines of public and private wealth in a mother country, utterly unknown in a rude young colony; and I only draw the comparison I have made, in this addenda to table No. II., with a view of bringing home to the reader an appreciation of the fact that a little Anglo-Saxon community of only a few thousand pioneer colonists, turned into a young and fertile country like New Zealand, will soon exhibit some very remarkable indications of wealth and prosperity.

## TABLE III.

### PROVINCIAL STATISTICS, *computed up to the end of the* YEAR 1860.

| Province. | Total area in Acres, rough estimate. | Rough estimate of area in Acres as yet required from the Natives. | Present Colonist population. | Native population. | Value of present Annual Exports. | Present Annual Tonnage of Shipping, including Coasting, entering outward. | Present Public Revenue. | Acres at present in cultivation or fenced. | Present number of Live Stock: Sheep, Cattle, Horses, Pigs. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Auckland . | 17,000,000 | 2,500,000 | 27,500 | 38,000 | £130,000 | Tns. 120,000 | £100,000 | 200,000 | 180,000 |
| Hawke's Bay | 3,000,000 | 1,500,000 | 2,500 | 3,600 | In Wellington. | In Wellington. | 40,000 | In Wellington. | 280,000 |
| Taranaki . | 2,500,000 | 50,000 | 2,000 | 3,700 | 10,000 | 20,000 | 10,000 | 30,000 | 20,000 |
| Wellington . | 9,000,000 | 2,500,000 | 14,000 | 8,000 | 180,000 | 30,000 | 60,000 | 100,000 | 280,000 |
| Nelson . . | 8,000,000 | 7,500,000 | 11,000 | 900 | 100,000 | 25,000 | 90,000 | 70,000 | 490,000 |
| Marlborough | 2,500,000 | 2,500,000 | 1,000 | 100 | In Nelson. | In Nelson. | In Nelson. | In Nelson. | In Nelson. |
| Canterbury . | 14,000,000 | 14,000,000 | 15,000 | 500 | 170,000 | 30,000 | 100,000 | 50,000 | 630,000 |
| Otago . . | 16,000,000 | 16,000,000 | 12,000 | 200 | 110,000 | 25,000 | 100,000 | 50,000 | 420,000 |
| TOTALS | 72,000,000* | 47,000,000 | 85,000 | 55,000 | 700,000 | 250,000 | 500,000 | 500,000 | 2,300,000 |

* Stewart's Island and the Chatham's, which make up the colony of New Zealand, contain about 2,000,000 acres.

REMARKS ON TABLE III.—Both in the Colonist and in the Maori population, there are about three males to two females, and such of my fair readers as may entertain emigrationary and matrimonial views may be encouraged by learning that of our Colonist population of 85,000 souls, no less a portion than 30,000 consists of lusty young bachelors and unmarried males.

As some further proof of the goodness of the climate,* and the suitability of the country for the Anglo-Saxon race, I may here remark, too, that in the years 1855-6-7-8 and 9, there were some 11,000 registered births in New Zealand to little more than 2,500 deaths—thus, it seems that we have about four births to one death: a ratio of increase by which the Rev. Mr. Malthus and his disciples might have been rather staggered.

* Perhaps, in regard to the sanatory properties of her climate, New Zealand scarcely receives sufficient credit. Dr. Thompson has given us some excellent testimony in the matter; but the learned Doctor has overlooked one or two facts which, I think, deserve mention. They are these. Though a large portion of our colonist population consists of young, hearty, well-fed, open-air living people, naturally exhibiting a low rate of mortality, yet a considerable and increasing portion of our population consists of those whom we may call "Invalid Emigrants"—that is, of persons who are *partly* induced to emigrate to New Zealand owing to the hope that the fine climate, combined with a quiet rural life, will modify or arrest certain symptoms of debility or disease. I have myself been brought into communication with numbers of families who have stated this to be one of their motives in emigrating. Thus, though the death rate of New Zealand may be remarkably low, it unquestionably would be lower if, among those who seek our shores, there were not so many who land among us already diseased or half-dead.

Again, though it is a fact to be deplored, it is a fact to be recorded that a very large proportion of the disease and mortality in New Zealand is caused solely and wholly by drink. A day labourer or mechanic in England may take his honest pint or quart of ale a day; but his slender wages will not allow him to exceed these modest potations. He might often like a little more of the good blood of the malt, and a little more might often do him good; but his pence are gone, and, if thirsty, he must e'en take to the pump—being poor, he remains, per force, temperate. But in *New Zealand*, if the labourer or mechanic is at all disposed to drink, the wages of one day's labour will keep him as drunk as my lord for a week. Our honest workman cannot bear his prosperity, and many a labouring man who would have lived sober in England dies from drinking cheap rum and brandy in New Zealand.

In respect to places of birth, nationality, &c., the Colonists, stand about as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Born in | England and Wales | 36,000 |
| „ | New Zealand | 25,000 |
| „ | Scotland | 13,000 |
| „ | Ireland | 7,000 |
| „ | Australia | 2,000 |
| „ | America and Nova Scotia | 1,000 |
| „ | Germany | 500 |
| „ | France | 200 |
| „ | Europe, Asia and elsewhere | 300 |
| | | 85,000 |

Thus, to 1 foreigner there are about 7 Irish, 13 Scotch, 25 born Colonists, and 40 English. In religious denominations, to 1 Catholic and 1 Wesleyan, there are about 2 Free Kirk and Scotch Church, and about 3 Church of England people.

## TABLE IV.

### PURSUITS *and* OCCUPATIONS *of the* COLONIST POPULATION.

| | |
|---|---|
| Engaged in Agricultural and Pastoral pursuits | 9000 |
| Engaged in Commercial and Trading pursuits | 4000 |
| Seamen | 1000 |
| Mechanics and Artificers | 8000 |
| Agricultural Labourers | 6000 |
| Domestic Servants | 4000 |
| Teachers and a few Professors and Artists | 500 |
| Ministers of Religion | 200 |
| Surveyors and Engineers | 200 |
| Doctors | 200 |
| Lawyers | 150 |
| Young people, and women and children; together with a few individuals (small capitalists, idlers and others,) who have no particular pursuit or calling | 51,750 |
| | 85,000 |

Thus, to 1 Professional Man, Teacher, or Minister of Religion, there are about 4 Domestic Servants, 6 Agricultural Labourers, 8 Mechanics, 1 Seaman, 4 Traders, and 9 Agriculturists and Estate creators.

## TABLE V.

MARRIAGES *solemnized in* NEW ZEALAND, *in the year* 1860.

| OFFICIATING MINISTERS. | Number. |
|---|---|
| Church of England | 300 |
| Free Kirk of Scotland | 150 |
| Roman Catholic Church | 70 |
| Wesleyan | 70 |
| Primitive Methodist | 40 |
| By Registrars | 50 |
| By Baptist, Independent, and other Ministers | 50 |
| | 730 |

## TABLE VI.

AGRICULTURAL RETURNS *for the* YEARS 1851 *and* 1860.

| Description of Crop. | | Year 1851. | Year 1860. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Wheat | acres. | 5,000 | 20,000 |
| Barley | ,, | 1,000 | 5,000 |
| Oats | ,, | 2,000 | 20,000 |
| Potatoes | ,, | 2,000 | 7,000 |
| Sown Grass | ,, | 15,000 | 200,000 |
| Garden crops, &c. | ,, | 2,000 | 10,000 |
| Total under crops | ,, | 30,000 | 250,000 |
| Total fenced | ,, | 30,000 | 500,000 |

The great relative increase of lands laid down in pasture is worthy of notice here. Some remarks on grass lands, and fenced lands will be found at pages 200 and 215.

## TABLE VII.

### PASTORAL RETURNS *for the* YEARS 1851 *and* 1860.

| Description of Stock. | Year 1851. | Year 1860. |
|---|---|---|
| Sheep | 240,000 | 2,000,000 |
| Cattle | 30,000 | 200,000 |
| Horses | 3,000 | 20,000 |
| Mules and Asses | 60 | 200 |
| Pigs | 15,000 | 70,000 |
| Goats | 12,000 | 10,000 |
| Total | 300,000 | 2,300,000 |

Pigs and cattle are perhaps taken too high for 1860; but under the "assisted passage" systems of Canterbury and Otago, and under the "40 acre free grant" system of Auckland, a very large number of labourers' little farms have been called into existence during the last two years, and pigs and dairy cows are two descriptions of live stock which always increase very fast, as small, hand-labour farms increase.

Neither Table No. 5 nor 6, includes any possessions of the natives. It is to be regretted that no attempt has been made to ascertain what may be about the quantity of cleared land and the live stock owned by the Maori race. In the North Island, the Natives have a large extent of land under cultivation, and possess great numbers of pigs, and a considerable and increasing number of horses and cattle.

## TABLE VIII.

### VALUE *of the* PRINCIPAL ARTICLES *of* NEW ZEALAND EXPORT, *in the* YEARS 1855 *and* 1860.

| | 1855. | 1860. |
|---|---|---|
| Wool | £ 90,000 | £470,000 |
| Agricultural Produce | 186,000 | 90,000 |
| Gold | .. | 40,000 |
| Timber | 10,000 | 65,000 |
| Gum | 5,000 | 20,000 |
| Oil | 9,000 | 15,000 |
| Total | 300,000 | 700,000 |

## TABLE IX.

### MISCELLANEOUS STATISTICS.

| | |
|---|---|
| Number of Vessels owned and registered in New Zealand, and chiefly engaged in the Coasting and the Australian trade | 260 |
| Tonnage of ditto | 9500 |
| Seamen employed in ditto | 900 |
| Total number of Letters and Newspapers received and despatched during the year 1860 | 2,000,000 |
| Number of Criminal Convictions before the Supreme Court and Jury, in the year 1860 | 60 |
| Number of Civil Cases tried before ditto, with Juries | 14 |
| Number of ditto disposed of by the Judge | 94 |
| Total amount sued for and recovered in the Minor Courts during the year 1860—sued for 60,000*l.*, recovered | £30,000 |
| Amount of Savings' Bank Deposits in the year 1860 | £25,000 |

## TARIFF OF CUSTOMS' DUTIES.

### ARTICLES PAYING DUTY.

| | £ | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Ale, beer, cider, and perry, in wood, the gallon | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Ale, beer, cider, and perry, in bottle, the gallon | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 2. Cigars and snuff, the lb. | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 3. Coffee, chicory, cocoa, and chocolate, the lb. | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 4. Cutlery, hardware, hollowware, ironmongery, of all sorts, the cwt. | 0 | 3 | 0 |
| 5. Fire-arms of every description, each | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| 6. Gunpowder, the lb. | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| 7. Manufactures of silk, cotton, linen, and woollen, and all articles manufactured therefrom; drapery, haberdashery, hosiery, millinery, furs, hats, boots, shoes; dried fruits, oilman's stores of all kinds, plate and plated ware (measuring outside the packages), the cubic foot | 0 | 4 | 0 |
| 8. Spirits and strong waters of every kind, sweetened or otherwise, of any strength not exceeding the strength of proof by Sykes' hydrometer, and so on in proportion for any greater strength than the strength of proof, the gallon | 0 | 9 | 0 |
| 9. Sugar, raw and refined, of all kinds, and treacle and molasses, the lb. | 0 | 0 | 1 |
| 10. Tea, the lb. | 0 | 0 | 4 |
| 11. Tobacco, per lb. | 0 | 1 | 6 |
| 12. Wine, in wood and bottle, containing less than 25 per cent. of alcohol of a specific gravity of ·825, at the temperature of 60 degrees Fahrenheit's thermometer, the gallon | 0 | 3 | 0 |

* This may seem a small amount—but it should be remembered that our working men generally purchase little patches of land the moment they have put by a few pounds in the chest.

ARTICLES DUTY FREE.

Anchors and chains, and rod, bolt, bar, sheet, hoop, and pig iron and nails; sailcloth, cordage, twine, cotton-yarn, bags, sacks, and woolpacks; spirits of tar and turpentine; tobacco, for sheepwash; nuts of all kinds; powder fit only for blasting purposes; passengers' personal baggage, and all other goods, wares, and merchandise, excepting those above enumerated.

NOTE.—The Customs authorities have decided on the following interpretation of 'Oilman's Stores,' 'Ironmongery,' and other terms employed in the Tariff:—

Chargeable with Duty on Oilman's Stores:—Capers, maccaroni, olives, vermicelli, salad oil, sardines, and anchovies.

Free, as not coming under the designation of Oilman's Stores:—Arrowroot, Bath bricks, blacking, blue, carraway seeds, cheese, curry powder, groats, hops, lemon and lime juice, night lights, oatmeal, potted or preserved meats, preserved salmon, pearl barley, sago, salt, soda crystals, soups (fish or vegetable preserved), starch, syrups, tapioca, wax vestas, whiting, vinegar in casks, flavouring essences, isinglass, gelatine, olive oil perfumed.

UNENUMERATED ARTICLES.

Agricultural Implements and Machinery—free
Black lead—free.
Candied peel—free.
Gun-barrels—chargeable as fire-arms.
Gutta Percha—Articles manufactured solely of gutta percha are not chargeable, but where combined with any of the articles comprised in sub-section 7 of section 1 of the Act, and the gutta percha is used merely to make it waterproof, it is chargeable.
Hollowware and tinware—duty to be levied on nett weight.
Iron-wire fencing—free.
Jams and jellies—chargeable under sub-section 7.
Linseed oil and paint—free.
Pistols, revolvers—chargeable as fire-arms.
Ploughs, harrows, &c.—not to be charged as hardware.
Window sash weights—ironmongery.
Shot—free.
Brass sheaves, iron blocks, and manufactured iron works for ships—free.
Spades, digging forks, and scythes—chargeable as cutlery, hardware, &c., &c.

## SCALE OF MERCANTILE CHARGES

*Adopted by the Nelson Chamber of Commerce.*

SALES AND PURCHASES.

| | |
|---|---|
| Ships, Stock, and Stations | 5 per cent. |
| On sales of Government Securities, or Shares in Public Companies | 2½ ,, |
| On sales of Bills of Exchange | 1 ,, |
| On all Goods withdrawn, re-shippped, or delivered to order (on invoice) | 2½ ,, |
| On Goods consigned for additional delivery | 2½ ,, |

| | |
|---|---|
| On Goods received and forwarded | 1 per cent. |
| On guaranteeing Sales, Bills or Bonds, by endorsement or otherwise | 2½ ,, |
| On purchase of Merchandise, Ships, Houses, Land, or Produce | 5 ,, |
| On purchase of Government Securities, or Shares in Public Companies | 2½ ,, |
| On purchase and remitting Bills of Exchange | 1 ,, |
| On purchase of Gold | 1 ,, |

When goods are sold by auction, Auctioneer's Commission be charged in addition to the above.

SHIPPING AGENCY.

| | |
|---|---|
| On procuring Money on Bottomry or Respondentia | 5 ,, |
| On procuring Freight or Charter for Vessels, and collecting Inwards Freight and Passage Money | 5 ,, |
| On Ships' Disbursements and Outfits, including amounts paid to captains when in port— | |
| If in Funds | 2½ ,, |
| If not in Funds | 5 ,, |
| On procuring Vessels for Charter | 2½ ,, |
| On entering Vessels from England or elsewhere, the Australian Colonies only excepted | £3 3 0 |
| On clearing ditto | 3 3 0 |
| On entering or clearing Vessels from the Australian Colonies | 1 11 6 |
| On entering or clearing Vessels in Ballast | 1 11 6 |
| On entering or clearing Coasting Vessels, not exceeding 20 tons burden | 0 10 6 |
| Above 20 tons burden | 1 1 0 |
| Fee for Survey of Hatches or Stowage (each Surveyor). | 1 1 0 |
| Fee for Survey of Damaged Goods (each Surveyor), according to circumstances | 21s. upwds. |
| On Insurance effected, or orders written for Insurance (of Ships on Cargo) | ½ per cent. |
| On settling Insurance losses, total or partial, and on procuring return of premium (on amount recovered), including brokerage | 5 ,, |

COMMISSION FOR GENERAL AGENCY.

| | |
|---|---|
| On Management of Estates as Agent, Attorney, Executor or Administrator (on amounts received and disbursed) | 5 ,, |
| On Leasing or Letting Lands or Houses (on one year's rent) | 5 ,, |
| On collecting Rents | 5 ,, |
| On investing Money on Mortgage | 2½ ,, |
| On recovering Debts and other accounts | 5 ,, |
| On Cash Payments—If in Funds | 2½ ,, |
| If not in Funds | 5 ,, |
| On Advances on Produce for Shipment | 5 ,, |
| On Advances and Current Accounts not liquidated at the end of the season, say March 31, the balance to be charged as a fresh advance, subject to commission of | 5 ,, |
| On becoming Guarantee or Security for Contracts (on amount of penalty) | 1 ,, |

| | |
|---|---|
| On acting as Trustee under assignments (on amount collected and disbursed) | 5 per cent. |
| On granting Letters of Credit | 1 ,, |

INTEREST.

| | |
|---|---|
| On Advances, including disbursements for Freight, Duty, or Lighterage, per annum | 10 ,, |
| On Accounts Current, per annum | 10 ,, |

RE-EXCHANGE.

| | |
|---|---|
| On Inter-colonial Bills dishonoured (exclusive of notarial charges) | 5 ,, |
| On Bills on any of the Australian Colonies (notarial charges) | 7½ ,, |
| On English and Foreign Bills (with notarial charges, postages, &c.) | 25 ,, |

CHARGES.

| | |
|---|---|
| On Local Bills dishonoured | 2½ ,, |
| Receiving and stowing General Merchandise and Produce (excepting Wool) per ton | 0 2 6 |
| Delivering ditto | 0 2 6 |
| Receiving, Weighing, Marking, and Delivering Wool per bale | 0 2 6 |
| Storage on Goods and Liquids (by weight or measurement) per ton per week | 0 1 6 |
| Storage on Wool—Full-size Bales, per week, each | 0 1 0 |
| Yard Storage, per ton, per week | 0 0 6 |

N. B.—Draft to be allowed on Wool at the rate of 1lb. per cwt.

## RETAIL SHOP PRICES OF ARTICLES OF DOMESTIC CONSUMPTION.

It should be remarked that this list applies chiefly to town dwellers; country settlers on land generally produce all they require except groceries, and buy these more by wholesale, *i. e.*, two or three families join and buy half-a-dozen bags of sugar, or a chest of tea, at some auction sale. Groceries and imported merchandise of all sorts are frequently sold by auction in the Colonies, and the auctioneer is far more closely allied with the merchant and trader in Australia and New Zealand than he is in England. Some of these articles are always a little dearer, some a little cheaper in one settlement than in another; but, taken as a whole, these prices fairly represent the present average prices of the chief articles of domestic consumption for the Colony, generally, when bought retail at the shops.

| | *s.* | *d.* | | *s.* | *d.* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Beef, mutton, and pork, per lb. | 0 | 5 | to | 0 | 7 |
| Fowls, per pair | 3 | 0 | ,, | 5 | 0 |
| Eggs, per dozen | 1 | 6 | ,, | 2 | 0 |
| Milk, per quart | 0 | 4 | ,, | 0 | 6 |
| Fresh butter, per lb. | 1 | 6 | ,, | 2 | 0 |

| | s. | d. | | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Colonial cheese, and bacon, per lb. | 1 | 0 | to | 1 | 6 |
| Bread, per lb. | 0 | 3 | „ | 0 | 0 |
| Best potatoes, per cwt. | 7 | 0 | „ | 10 | 0 |
| Large cabbages, each | 0 | 1 | „ | 0 | 2 |
| Rice, best, per lb. | 0 | 3 | „ | 0 | 3½ |
| Salt, per lb. | 0 | 1 | „ | 0 | 2 |
| Soap, per lb. | 0 | 5 | „ | 0 | 6 |
| Sugar, per lb. | 0 | 5 | „ | 0 | 6 |
| Raisins, per lb. | 1 | 3 | „ | 1 | 6 |
| Tea, per lb. | 2 | 6 | „ | 3 | 0 |
| Coffee, per lb. | 1 | 6 | „ | 1 | 9 |
| Tobacco, per lb. | 3 | 6 | „ | 4 | 0 |
| Candles, Belmont Sperm, per lb. | 1 | 6 | „ | 2 | 0 |
| Firewood, per cord, (a ton-and-a-half) | 10 | 0 | „ | 25 | 0 |
| Wine, duty paid, per gallon. | 15 | 0 | „ | 20 | 0 |
| Brandy „ „ | 20 | 0 | „ | 30 | 0 |
| Beer, Alsopp's, per dozen | 11 | 0 | „ | 12 | 0 |

*The retail prices of clothing, hardware, and the common articles of British manufacture sold in the shops, together with hotel and boarding-house charges, house-rent, and hire of apartments are, perhaps, about 50l. per cent. higher than in England.*

MISCELLANEOUS PRICES.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Sawn board and scantling, per 100 feet | 15s. to | 20s. |
| Shingles (the wooden slate), per 1000 | 13s. „ | 15s. |
| Bricks per 1000 | 80s. „ | 90s. |
| Lime per bushel | 3s. „ | 4s. |
| Split garden palings per 100 | 10s. „ | 15s. |
| Verandah cottage (wood, say for a family of six) | £150 „ | £200 |
| Small Raupo rustic, ditto | £25 „ | £50 |
| Post and 4-rail field fencing, per chain | 15s. „ | 20s. |
| Hire of horse and cart for a day | 15s. „ | 25s. |
| „ riding horse, ditto | 10s. „ | 20s. |

*A family of half a dozen members, having their own cottage, and 10 to 20 acres of land under cultivation, as a little garden farm, might now live comfortably enough in many parts of New Zealand on an income of from 80l. to 100l. a year.*

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STIPENDS AND SALARIES.—The stipends of the clergy and of the ministers of the various religious denominations in New Zealand are but small, varying, I should say, from 150*l.* to 250*l.* a year. Many of the clergy, however, have little glebe farms, and appear, for the most part, to live with their families in a state of rude and easy plenty. The missionaries, indeed, who, whatever may be their political faults, are good Samaritans, and most hospitable hosts in the "Bush," have ever been remarkable

for keeping a bounteous table; and many a Bush traveller, sick of eel, and dried fish, pig, and pigeon, has discovered that a mission station is quite as pre-eminent for good cheer as for long prayer.

The salaries given to clerks and shopmen are low. Indeed, there is but a small demand for emigrants of this class, inasmuch as the principals of our young mercantile houses and trading establishments are, for the most part, active young men; or men with families, who can manage their little concerns almost without help.

I regret that, for the benefit of any fair readers of the governess class, I cannot quote the rates of the educational salaries in New Zealand. I think I may say, however, that a young lady going out with introductions, competent to give her pupils a good, plain English education, and one who, now and then helping the mistress in the kitchen, the maid in the nursery, would make herself generally useful, would have no difficulty in procuring a situation in some good pastoral or agricultural Colonist's establishment; where she would be treated as a friend of the family, have a little salary of from 60*l.* to 70*l.* a year, and get plenty of fine mutton, fine scenery, and fine air. The salary may seem poor, but the life, I think, would not be unpleasant; while the statistical fact recorded at page 346 would lead us to imagine that a young lady in New Zealand, of the right stamp, would not long be left there "in maiden meditation fancy free," or suffered to remain a governess, if she aspired to become a wife.

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## WAGES.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Good farm-labourer and wife, with board and lodging | £50 to | £60 |
| Good single farm-labourer do. do. | 40 to | 50 |
| Good shepherd, or handy man, accustomed to stock | 50 to | 60 |
| Good stout farm lad do. | 15 to | 25 |
| Good strong female servant do. | 20 to | 25 |
| Farm-labourers, per day of 9 hours | 4*s.* to | 6*s.* |
| Mechanics, such as carpenters, masons, painters and glaziers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, shipwrights, coopers, and sawyers, per day of 8 hours | 7*s.* to | 10*s.* |

Owing to the great numbers of working men who have been attracted to Auckland and the north by the "forty-acre free grants," the rates of labour are at present some 20 per cent. lower there than they are in Canterbury and Otago.

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VALUE OF IMPROVED LANDED PROPERTY AND OF TOWN LOTS.—Small suburban farms, lying within half-a-dozen miles of most of the eight provincial capitals, would now frequently realise from 15*l.* to 20*l.* per acre. Indeed, a farm on the Tamaki, nine miles from Auckland, sold in small lots, has lately fetched 30*l.* per acre. Good shops and warehouse sites in Auckland and Wellington have brought from 10*l.* to 20*l.* per frontage foot; the small acre and half-acre town lots, put up by auction, by the Provincial Governments, where new townships are to be laid out, will sometimes realise from 50*l.* to 150*l.* per acre; while the upset Government price lately put on some town lots, in the rising young city of Auckland, was at the rate of 800*l.* per acre.

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## POSTAL REGULATIONS.

Nine-tenths, probably, of all letters, papers, and book-post parcels, sent from the United Kingdom to New Zealand and Australia are now sent by what is called the Overland Mail, (a mail carried by steamers,) and leaving Southampton the 20th of every month, *viâ* Malta, Alexandria, Suez, the Red Sea, Point de Galle, and Melbourne. A small branch steamer runs from Marseilles, and catches this great monthly mail at Malta; and letters by this supplementary Marseilles route may be posted six days later—they are marked "*viâ* Marseilles," and are carried by Dover boat and French railroads down to Marseilles. The rates of postage by this supplementary route are, however, double the rates charged "*viâ* Southampton."

The mails for these two routes are made up in London on the morning of the 20th of every month, *viâ Southampton*, and on the evening of the 26th, *viâ Marseilles*. When the 20th falls on Sunday, the mails are made up on the *previous* evening; and

when the 26th falls on Sunday, they are made up on the *following* evening. All postage must be pre-paid.

| Rates of Postage. | Viâ Southampton. | Viâ Marseilles. |
|---|---|---|
| | *s.* *d.* | *s.* *d.* |
| Letters not exceeding the . ½oz. . . . . | 0 6 | 1 0 |
| Ditto „ 1 „ . . . . | 1 0 | 2 0 |
| Ditto „ 2 „ . . . . | 2 0 | 4 0 |
| For every oz. or fraction over 2 „ . . . | 1 0 | 2 0 |
| *Newspapers, each . . . . . | 0 1 | 0 3 |
| Book Parcels, not exceeding 4 „ . . . | 0 4 | 0 6 |
| Ditto „ 16 „ . . . . | 1 4 | 2 0 |
| Ditto „ 24 „ . . . . | 2 0 | 3 6 |
| For every additional 8oz. (viâ Southampton) | 0 8 | — |
| For every additional 8oz. (after 32oz. which is 4*s.*) viâ Marseilles . . . . . | — | 1 0 |

The New Zealand mails are due in London, *viâ* Marseilles, about the 5th of every month; and, *viâ* Southampton, on the 12th of every month. The course of post by this route is one of from sixty-five to seventy days; so that a person in England writing to a friend in New Zealand, residing in or near one of the chief towns, might expect a reply in about five months. This is unquestionably a great advance since the days when it took as long only to get to New Zealand; but this "Suez route" is, after all, but a poor, roundabout route for New Zealand; and I trust that 'ere long the eastern colonies of our magnificent Australasian

* The best mode of doing up a newspaper is to fold it rather small, tie it tightly round with string, just seal down the ends of the tie, and write the address neatly on the *margin* of the paper. The paper must bear no old address, nor any other pen mark save the New Zealand address; and when papers, letters, or book parcels are *sealed*, the following remarks from the "British Postal Guide" should always be attended to:—"The practice of sealing letters passing to and from the Australasian Colonies and India with wax (excepting such as is specially prepared) is attended with much inconvenience, and frequently with serious injury to the letters, in consequence of the melting of the wax and adhesion of the letters. In the case of mails received from Australia and India, considerable delay is occasioned; and, notwithstanding the greatest care is taken in separating the letters, which, owing to the cause already mentioned, adhere closely together, many are damaged and torn. The public are, therefore, recommended in all cases to use wafers in preference to wax in securing their letters, and also to advise their correspondents to pursue the same course." India or "prepared" wax can always be obtained of any town stationers —if not wafers, or the common gummed envelope, should be used.

empire—New South Wales, Queensland, and New Zealand—will succeed in inducing the Home Government to assist them in opening that great "Panama route" described at page 279; when the course of post would be one of little more than a month; and when travellers and tourists might leave London in July, roll down through the breezy latitudes of the South Pacific, visit New Zealand, and be back in Town in November—braced up for work, and replenished with a stock of health and new ideas, cheap at double the money it had cost them to obtain.

## MEMBERS OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT OF NEW ZEALAND.

### I.

THE GOVERNOR AND MINISTERIAL EXECUTIVE.*

| | | Salaries about |
|---|---|---|
| Governor . . . . . | Colonel Thomas Gore Browne | £3000 |
| Colonial Secretary (Premier) . | Hon. Edward William Stafford | 800 |
| Colonial Treasurer (Chancellor of the Exchequer), . . . | Hon. Christopher Wm. Richmond | 800 |
| Attorney-General† . . . . | Hon. Frederick Whitaker | 800 |
| Postmaster-General . . . | Hon. Henry J. Tancred | 800 |

This "Stafford ministry" (like Lord Palmerston's) may any day be overthrown by the opposition "outs;" led, in our case, by some virtuous Fox,† or Featherston, or other indignant

* The Chief Justice and the Commander of the Forces are ex-officio Members of this Executive.

† An able and influential political Colonist, but a most determined "Provincialist," that is, one who would split up New Zealand into a dozen little parish-like Settlements, and give to each of them a local Governor, a local Ministry, and a local Parliament. Mr. Fox, who, if he does not become our premier, will perhaps not become our premier because he will esteem the grapes of that office slightly sour, is, I believe, an ardent admirer of American institutions—except, perhaps, in the little matters of mob rule, lynch law, and slavery; and would give New Zealand these dozen Vestry Parliaments because some such things exist in the American Constitution—an argument which, recollecting that some of the States of the Union are, each, as big as the whole of New Zealand put together, and contain, each, as many millions of people as our little provinces contain thousands, is one that might well remind us of the fable of the frog and the ox.

Provincialist and Vestry Parliament man. But at the time I write, our New Zealand Ministry is constituted as above. The salaries I have attached to the offices are, I think, about correct; and recollecting that this New Zealand ministry is responsible for the good government of a colony as large as the mother-country, my most democratical reader will not, I fancy, venture to assert that our young Premiers, and Attorneys-General, and Chancellors of the Exchequer are at all overpaid.

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## II.

### THE "LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL," OR UPPER HOUSE.

*(Life Peers.)*

| | Residence. | Occupation or Profession. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. Hon. Thos. Houghton Bartley (Speaker) | Auckland | Landed Proprietor |
| 2. Hon. George Alfred Arney | Auckland | Chief Justice |
| 3. Hon. Chas. J. R. Blakiston | Christchurch | Landed Proprietor |
| 4. Hon. James Coutts Crawford | Wellington | ,, |
| 5. Hon. George Cutfield | Taranaki | ,, |
| 6. Hon. John Curling | Napier | ,, |
| 7. Hon. Sir S. O. Gibbes, Bart. | Wangarei | ,, |
| 8. Hon. John Anderson Gilfillan | Auckland | Merchant |
| 9. Hon. John Hyde Harris | Dunedin | Barrister |
| 10. Hon. John Johnston | Wellington | Merchant |
| 11. Hon. William Henry Kenny | Onehunga | Landed Proprietor |
| 12. Hon. James Menzies | Otago | ,, |
| 13. Hon. Matthew Richmond | Nelson | ,, |
| 14. Hon. Henry William Petre | Wellington | ,, |
| 15. Hon. John Chas. Watts Russell | Canterbury | ,, |
| 16. Hon. John Salmon | Auckland | ,, |
| 17. Hon. William Swainson | Auckland | Ex-Attorney General |
| 18. Hon. Henry John Tancred | Christchurch | Landed Proprietor |
| 19. Hon. Frederick Whitaker | Auckland | Attorney-General |

III.

THE "HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES."

*(House of Commons.)*

*Speaker:* Sir CHARLES CLIFFORD, Member for Wellington.

| Representing Province of | Members. | Occupation, or Profession. |
|---|---|---|
| Auckland 12 Members. | Theod. Mivet Haultain, Esq., J.P. | Landed Proprietor |
| | William Crush Daldy, Esq., J.P. | ,, |
| | T. Spencer Forsaith, Esq., J.P. | Merchant |
| | John Williamson, Esq., J.P. | Newspaper Proprietor |
| | Archibald Clark, Esq., J.P. | Landed Proprietor |
| | Robert Graham, Esq., J.P. | Merchant |
| | Joseph Hargreaves, Esq., J.P. | ,, |
| | Theophilus Heale, Esq. | Landed Proprietor |
| | Hugh Carleton, Esq. | Newspaper Proprietor |
| | Thomas Henderson, Esq., J.P. | Landed Proprietor |
| | Walter Lee, Esq. | ,, |
| | John J. Symonds, Esq. | ,, |
| Hawke's Bay 2 Members. | James Farmer, Esq., J.P. | ,, |
| | Thos. H. Fitzgerald, Esq., J.P. | ,, |
| Taranaki 3 Members. | Thomas King, Esq., J.P. | ,, |
| | James Crowe Richmond, Esq. | ,, |
| | Hon. Christopher W. Richmond | ,, |
| Wellington (with Speaker) 8 Members. | Alfred De B. Brandon, Esq., J.P. | Solicitor |
| | Isaac Earl Featherston, Esq. | M.D. |
| | William Fitzherbert, Esq., J.P. | Merchant |
| | William Fox, Esq., J.P. | Barrister |
| | Alfred Renall, Esq. | Landed Proprietor |
| | Wm. Bernard Rhodes, Esq., J.P. | Merchant |
| | Charles Rooking Carter, Esq. | Landed Proprietor |
| Nelson (including Marlborough) 7 Members. | Hon. Edward William Stafford | ,, |
| | Frederick A. Weld, Esq., J.P. | ,, |
| | Herbert Evelyn Curtis, Esq. | Merchant |
| | Alfred Domett, Esq., J.P. | Landed Proprietor |
| | Edward Jollie, Esq., J.P. | ,, |
| | J. Fedor Aug. Kelling, Esq., J.P. | ,, |
| | David Monro, Esq., J.P. | ,, |
| Canterbury 5 Members. | W. Sefton Moorhouse, Esq., J.P. | Landed Proprietor |
| | Charles Hunter Brown, Esq. | ,, |
| | Isaac Thos. Cookson, Esq., J.P. | Merchant |
| | Hon. Henry Sewell | Barrister |
| | Crosbie Ward, Esq., J.P. | Landed Proprietor |
| Otago 4 Members. | Francis Dillon Bell, Esq., J.P. | ,, |
| | Thomas Bannatyne Gillies, Esq. | ,, |
| | James Macandrew, Esq., J.P. | Merchant |
| | John P. Taylor, Esq., J.P. | Landed Proprietor |

Thus, it will be seen that our infant House of Commons counts at present only 41 members: a number which might now, I think, well be doubled, and which has, I believe, been increased, by a Bill passed during its last session, to about 50. The last session of this, our first New Zealand parliament, has just closed at Auckland, and the first session of our second parliament, now to be elected, will probably be opened at Wellington in April.

"The General Assembly, which has now been three months in session, will close its labours on this day or Monday next, the term of the existence, five years, of the present House of Representatives will then have expired. It is a circumstance somewhat exceptional in these days of Parliamentary Government, in the Australasian Colonies at least, that a representative body should have escaped a premature dissolution, and still more rare that in its course it should have been undisturbed by any 'Ministerial crisis' or radical change of policy.

"If this, its closing session, has been less prolific of laws than that which immediately preceded it, and which will be always distinguishable for its 'eighty Acts,' it has been by no means barren of results. The following Acts have already been passed, and have received the assent of the Governor:—

The Private Bills Evidence Act, 1860.
The Absent Debtors Act, 1860.
The Absent Defendants Act, 1860.
The Foreign Seaman's Act, 1860.
The Remission of Penalties Act, 1860.
The Fraudulent Trustees Act, 1860.
The Bankers Returns Act Amendment Act, 1860.
The Married Women's Property Protection Act, 1860.
The Gold Fields Act, 1858-1860.
The Mercantile Law Amendment Act, 1860.
The Lyttelton and Christchurch Railway Act, 1860.
The Purchas and Ninnis Flax Patent Act, 1860.
The Summary Proceedings Improvement Act, 1860.
Joint Stock Companies Act, 1860.
Patents Act, 1860.
Real Estate Administration Act, 1860.
The Conveyancing Ordinance Amendment Act, 1860.
The Supreme Courts Act, 1860.
The Barristers and Solicitors Admission Act, 1860.
English Acts' Act, 1860.
Official Documents Evidence Act, 1860.
The Savings Bank Act Amendment Act, 1860.
The Nelson Roman Catholic Endowments Sales Act, 1860.
The Sale of Reserves Act Amendment Act, 1860.
Nelson Wesleyan Schoolmasters Land Sale Act, 1860.

"Some others have likewise been disposed of—amongst them an Act to amend the Representation. The Militia Bill, the Arms Bill, the Naval and Military Settlers (Wellington) Bill, the Taranaki Land Regulation Bill, the Light Houses Bill are being swiftly carried through the perils of the close; a periodical 'Slaughter of the Innocents' has not yet with us become an institution.

"The labour of the session, however, must not be measured by these products for a very great amount of time and discussion has been devoted by the Assemby—and notably by the House of Representatives—to the

paramount and absorbing question of native affairs; and if no definite scheme of policy has been struck out, at the least, a mass of information has been accumulated which has thrown a light upon the errors and defects of our former management of the native race, and which will serve to guide the Legislature and the colonists in their future relations with the aboriginal people of New Zealand."—*New Zealand Examiner.*

## JUDGES.

| | |
|---|---|
| Chief Justice . . . . . | Hon. George Alfred Arney. |
| Puisne Judge (Central District) . | His Honour Alexander J. Johnston. |
| Puisne Judge (Southern District) . | His Honour Henry Barnes Gresson. |

## CHIEF EXECUTIVE AND OTHER OFFICERS OF THE GENERAL GOVERNMENT, NOT IN THE MINISTRY.

| | |
|---|---|
| Auditor-General . . . . . | Charles Knight, Esq., J.P. |
| Registrar-General . . . . . | John B. Bennett, Esq. |
| Land Claims Commissioner . . . | Francis Dillon Bell, Esq., J.P. |
| Inspector of Public Works . . . . | Lieut.-Col. Mould, R.E., J.P. |
| Native Secretary . . . . . | Donald MacLean, Esq., J.P. |
| Assistant Native Secretary . . . | T. H. Smith, Esq., J.P. |
| Assistant Law Officer . . . . | Francis Dart Fenton, Esq., J.P. |
| Governor's Private Secretary and Clerk to the Executive Council . . . | Captain F. G. Steward. |
| Governor's Aide-de-Camp . . . | Windle St. Hill, Esq., 65th Regt. |

## INTESTATE ESTATES—REGISTRATION OF MARRIAGES.

In the case of persons dying intestate, *i.e.*, without making a will, the next of kin may apply for letters of administration; but if there be no next of kin, or if the next of kin do not apply, the estate is administered by the official administrator, in which case the personal property of the deceased is sold by auction, and after all debts and demands against the estate are satisfied, the residue of the money, if any, is paid into the Colonial Treasury, subject thereafter to be paid out by an order of a judge of the Supreme Court, on receiving proof of claim.

Wills are proved by the executors of the deceased person before a judge of the Supreme Court, when probate is given.

Persons about to marry must obtain from the Registrar's Office a certificate; for without this certificate no minister can perform the ceremony of marriage, under a penalty. The persons applying for this certificate must lodge with the registrar their names, and other particulars as to age, &c., and pay a fee of 2*s.* 6*d* ; and at the expiration of 14 days, on payment of an additional 5*s.*, the certificate is granted. But the certificate can be granted and the marriage performed without any delay, on payment of a fee of 1*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* Persons married by the registrar pay an additional fee of 3*l.* No persons can be married according to the form of the Episcopal Church unless the "banns" have been published three times in the church, or unless a special license is obtained from the Bishop's Surrogate. This special license costs 3*l.*, and is in addition to the minister's fee, and to the registrar's fee for the certificate.

## NEW ZEALAND EMIGRANTS' LIBRARY.

THE most recent, or most current, books and publications on New Zealand, are published or sold by Edward Stanford, 6, Charing Cross, London, and sent by book-post to any part of the United Kingdom, the Continent, India, or elsewhere. Mr. Stanford also furnishes those little portable libraries of popular works which emigrants now so often provide as a portion of their outfit.

| | Publication price. £. s. d. |
|---|---|
| 1. The Story of New Zealand, Past and Present, Savage and Civilized. By Arthur S. Thompson, M.D., 58th Regt., with map and illustrations | 1 4 0 |
| 2. Five Years' Residence in New Zealand. By Capt. Fuller, late of the 59th Regt. | 0 10 0 |
| 3. New Zealand and its Colonisation. By the Hon. William Swainson, ex-Attorney General of New Zealand. 1 vol., with map | 0 14 0 |
| 4. Te Ika a Maori, or New Zealand, and its Inhabitants—illustrating the Origin, Manners, Customs, Mythology, Religion, Songs, Proverbs, Fables, and Language of the Natives; together with the Geology, Natural History, Productions, and Climate of the Country; its State as regards Christianity, &c. &c. &c. With a map and numerous illustrations. By the Rev. Richard Taylor, M.A., F.G.S., many years a Missionary in New Zealand. 1 vol., 8vo. | 1 1 0 |
| 5. Adventures in New Zealand. By Jerningham Wakefield, Esq. 2 vols., with illustrations | |
| 6. Polynesian Mythology, and Ancient Traditional History of the New Zealand Race as furnished by their Priests and Chiefs. By Sir George Grey, late Governor-in-Chief of New Zealand. 1 vol. post 8vo | 0 10 6 |
| 7. Hints to Intending Sheep Farmers in New Zealand. Third edition. By Frederick A. Weld, Esq., J.P. of Flaxbourne, New Zealand, Member of the House of Representatives. With an Appendix, containing an Epitome of the Land Regulations of the different Provinces | 0 1 0 |
| 8. Canterbury Papers, new series; being Information concerning the Province of Canterbury. Nos. I. and II. . . . each | 0 1 0 |
| 9. The New Zealand Pilot. By Capt. G. H. Richards and Lieut. F. J. Evans, R.N. Second edition | 0 5 0 |
| 10. The New Zealand Grammar, Vocabulary, and Dictionary. By G. Archdeacon Williams. Second edition | 0 8 0 |
| 11. The Australian and New Zealand Gazette, published weekly, by Frederick Algar, 11, Clement's Lane, Lombard Street | 0 0 6 |
| 12. The New Zealand Examiner, published monthly, by George Street, 30, Cornhill | 0 0 6 |

| | £. | s. | d. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 13. Handbook for Australasia . . . . . | 0 | 5 | 0 |
| Voices from Auckland, with the Land Regulations and Explanatory Notes. By Alex. F. Ridgway and Sons, Agents to the Provincial Government of Auckland . . . . | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| Otago: Information for the Guidance of Intending Emigrants. By John Cargill, Esq., J. P., Member of the Provincial Council . . . . . | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| The New Zealand Handbook, seventh edition, with coloured map . . . . . | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| The Prize Essay on New Zealand. By W. Stones, Esq. . | 0 | 0 | 6 |
| The Auckland "40-Acre Free Grants," and Description of the Province of Auckland . . . . . | 0 | 0 | 3 |
| Pictorial Illustrations of New Zealand. Sixty-four Views engraved on Steel, from Drawings made by S. C. Brees, late principal Engineer and Surveyor to the New Zealand Company. Handsomely bound. (Originally published at 3*l.* 3*s.*) | 1 | 1 | 0 |

## MAPS.

14. Stanford's Map of New Zealand, compiled from the most recent reliable documents. Full coloured, price on one sheet, 2*s.*; or mounted in case, 3*s.* 6*d.*

A General Chart of New Zealand; by Captain J. L. Stokes and Commander Drury. Published by Order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. One sheet coloured, price, 5*s.* 6*d.*; or mounted in case, 8*s.*

Arrowsmith's Map of New Zealand, price on one sheet, 6*s.*, or mounted in case, 9*s.*

Auckland.—A New Map of the Province of Auckland, New Zealand Compiled for A. Willis, Gann, and Co., from the latest official documents, showing the Lands already sold, the Lands open for selection for Free Grants, and Crown Lands not yet surveyed: with Handbook. Price, in sheet, coloured, 5*s.*, or mounted in case, 7*s.* 6*d.*

Canterbury.—Map of the Province of Canterbury, New Zealand, showing the Freehold Sections and Pasturage Runs. The map is based upon the recent Maritime Surveys by the Admiralty in New Zealand, the Trigonometrical Survey made by order of the Provincial Government, and the Communications of Colonists to the Land Office. It has also corrections furnished by Walter Mantell, Esq., R. J. S. Harman Esq., and J. B. A. Acland, Esq. Price, in sheet, 7*s.* 6*d.*; in case, 10*s.*; on canvas, rollers, and varnished, 15*s.*

Charts of New Zealand, by Captain J. L. Stokes and Commander Drury. Published by Order of the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty. On 14 sheets. Price 2*l.* 8*s.*

## NOTICES ON THE PRECEDING PUBLICATIONS.

1. The author of this work gives a list of the various publications on New Zealand, spreading over a period of some thirty years, which he consulted in the course of writing his own book: he names the astounding number of 290, and, of these, the first edition of "Hursthouse's New Zealand," is the only one which he has been pleased to mark as "good." I can very honestly return the praise: Dr. Thompson's work does not profess to treat much of agricultural and pastoral matters, or of what we may call the practical details of emigration—but it is particularly full and luminous on such subjects as the native race, the physical features, the Natural History,* and climatology of the country. Further, it has this peculiar merit—that while nine-tenths of all our publications on New Zealand are the works of *colonists*, who, like myself, have an interest to serve in writing up New Zealand, Dr. Thompson's is the work of a man, quite unconnected with the colony, who gleaned a good knowledge of the country during his eleven years' residence there as senior surgeon of the gallant 58th.

2. Captain Fuller's book relates mainly to Canterbury. I venture to think that it contains pages relating to certain bygone private matters which might well be suppressed in any second edition, and it is perhaps somewhat deficient in clear arrangement and lucidity of style—but it is nevertheless a work which might well be consulted by an intending emigrant to any province of New Zealand.

3. The Honourable Mr. Swainson's book, like Dr. Thompson's in some respects, does not deal much with practical emigration matters; and, as the work of one who was an old government official in the "Fitzroy days," it appears to me to take a somewhat cramped and party-spirited view of the early struggles between the New Zealand Company's settlers and the Missionary officials—still it is the work of an able, conscientious man, and is particularly valuable as an authority in all matters relative to the constitutional government of the colony and to the "Native Difficulty."

4. The Rev. Mr. Taylor's book is the work of a clever and somewhat bigoted missionary—but, it is remarkably full and good in the chapters on the Native race, and on the natural history and geology of the country.

5. Mr. Wakefield's work gives a most authentic and interesting account of the first planting of the settlements of Wellington, Nelson, Wanganui, and New Plymouth, and will be read with pleasure and profit by all who are desirous to be well acquainted with the history of the early days of New Zealand colonisation.

6. Sir George Grey's book I have never seen—but it has been well reviewed, and is, I believe, a most interesting description of the early history, and of the obsolete, or semi-obsolete, customs, of the native race.

* See Note, page 367.

7. Mr. Weld's is an admirable pamphlet, and should be in the hands of every one who goes to New Zealand with a view of engaging in agricultural and pastoral pursuits.

8. "The Canterbury Papers" "Voices from Auckland," and "Information on Otago," are all cheap little publications which will repay perusal. The popular "New Zealand Handbook" has already gone through six large editions, and has perhaps commanded a greater sale than any little work on New Zealand which has ever yet been published; while the Prize Essay is a pleasant sketch of the colony and its advantages which no one would regret buying.

9. A work reflecting the very highest credit on the Hydrographic Office and the Admiralty, and on the compilers, Captain G. S. Richards, R.N., and M. F. J. Evans, Master R.N. It gives a most accurate description of every coast, bay, roadstead, river, and harbour in New Zealand. It is a book worth its weight in gold to every commander of a ship going to New Zealand; and one which should also be possessed by every person desirous to have a knowledge of the character of the coasts and port districts of New Zealand.

10. Archdeacon Williams's "Maori Grammar" is a book which every one should possess who is desirous of landing in the colony with some little knowledge of the native tongue: a most useful acquisition to any one intending to settle in the North Island, and one which may be gained by devoting an hour or two a day to the Archdeacon's work, on the voyage out.

11. An excellent weekly publication giving, from time to time, some first-rate leading articles on emigrationary subjects, together with a most useful summary of the latest intelligence from New Zealand, New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria, Tasmania, West Australia, and South Australia; and a publication which, together with the *New Zealand Examiner*, might well be taken in by the home country friends or relatives of all persons who have settled in Australia or New Zealand.

12. A young and well-edited periodical, devoted to New Zealand, giving high promise of great usefulness, and a publication to which every New Zealand colonist must heartily wish success.

13. This is a very useful little work; and the relations between New Zealand and the Australian colonies are so close, the trade and intercourse between them are so great, that every New Zealand emigrant of the small capitalist class would do well to obtain it, and read it over on the voyage, so that he might land in the new country of his adoption with some knowledge of those sister colonies whose interests will often be identical with his own.

14. A cheap, popular, and accurate map of New Zealand, well engraved and coloured, and reflecting credit both on publisher and artist.

Some or all of the works here described might well have a place in that little portable library which New Zealand emigrants now so often and so wisely provide as a portion of their outfit. Any educated person now going to New Zealand, and looking forward, perhaps, to taking part some day in the provincial or general government of the colony cannot be too well read in the literature of the new Land; while it may be said that any emigrant—agriculturist, professional man, trader, or speculator—might glean an amount of practical knowledge from a perusal of some of these books on the voyage out which would be of material benefit to him on his arrival.

But in selecting a few books for sea use the emigrant should not confine himself to mere works on colonies and emigration. There is perhaps no situation in life where a man may read with so much pleasure and profit to himself as when a prisoner for three months on board ship; and if the capitalist or small capitalist family bound to our "Britain of the South," will take my advice, they will not only provide themselves with a few standard works on the country of their adoption, but will add a few on other subjects, and give a place on their cabin-shelves, say, to Thackeray and Macaulay, and to that rural classic, Stevens' book of "The Farm," and to White's "Selborne," and St. John's "Highland Sports," and to Gerard's "Lion Hunter," and to Winter's "Curiosities of Civilization," and to grand old Johnson, big in words but big in wisdom and in wit; and to Pope—Pope, that pocket giant, whose verse, all meat and honey, chokes us with no bone or comb.

* In his remarks on the Natural History of New Zealand Dr. Thompson pronounces somewhat too arbitrarily, I think, that no living specimen of the gigantic "Moa" now exists in New Zealand. I certainly do not think we should be justified in advising Professor Owen to start on an expedition to New Zealand in the faith of catching a Moa—but, most unquestionably, if as Dr. Thompson asserts, a living Moa *was* seen as late as the year 1650, no sufficient argument can be adduced to show that it is impossible, or even very highly improbable, that the living Moa may not be stalking about in that remote wilderness of the South Island, described at page 149, even in the year 1861.

I would observe, too, that the existence of the "Frogs," named by the Doctor at page 29 of his work, may easily be accounted for by supposing that they were shovelled out in the ballast of some ship visiting Coromandel to load timber—like the ship-introduced mouse and the Norwegian rat, they are not natives of the soil, but true emigrants.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### EMIGRATION AND EMIGRANTS.

EMIGRATION.—To treat fully, here, of emigration as a branch of social and political economy, would be to exceed the scope and purpose of a work like the present. But emigrants are so undervalued a class, so much lurking prejudice exists against emigration, its social and national merits are so often ignored, or so partially, so grudgingly admitted, that I trust the reader will allow me to preface this chapter with a few remarks expressive of an opinion that emigrants are the most valuable portion of the community which any over-crowded country can possess; and that emigration, as an old writer quaintly asserts, "is the very best affair of business in which any old country can engage."

Emigrants and emigration have many friends—but they have many enemies, both secret and avowed.

'Tis said that not a few of the great and prosperous among us *like* to be surrounded, at a respectful distance, by the lowly and the meek: their mansions are grander, their velvets softer, *because* of the hovels and rags. If every man had opera box, yacht, and flunkey, how many men would there be to whom these things would bring no pleasure! Poor people, poor neighbours, poor dependents, give zest to many a rich man's life—he "could better spare better men;" but these zests *escape* by emigration, and hence emigration has often the rich man's contumely and spite. Superfine "upper-crust" people, too, either born with the silver spoon, or having made the silver spoon, affect to look on emigration as a fit punishment for poverty, and will sneer at the emigrant as a sort of superior vagabond. Manufacturing millionaires, too, and the rich employing classes, whose wealth has been wrung out of the suicidal strife of too-abundant labour, and who fancy that the continuance of their prosperity rests on their power to recruit their labour-serfs from serried ranks of near preserves of paupers, naturally but blindly decry emigration—that great highway whereby cheap labour eludes their

fatal grip. Thousands of worthy people, too, vegetating through life in easy peace in the quiet spots they were born in, hold that defiant emigration to any new country is an unnatural offence, and that it is every man's duty to die where he first drew breath; while shallow anti-emigrationists liken emigration to a draining of the nation's life-blood, regard colonies as costly incumbrances, and utterly blind to the vast national benefits which emigration creates, are solicitous only to detect the minor evils which *excess* of emigration might entail.

Seeing, then, that emigration has all these enemies on the spot to attack, while her best friends, Emigrants, are not on the spot to defend; continually hearing as we do of "low Irish emigration," of "assisted emigration," of "pauper emigration," of "convict emigration;" recollecting, too, that the millions who emigrate, however bold, hardy, and enterprising they may be, are, nevertheless, for the most part, the poor, the unsuccessful, the unfortunate, it is not perhaps to be wondered at that emigrants have come to be looked on as a Pariah, or lower-caste order of our people; that emigration is regarded not as a noble career which calculating prudence and high enterprise might *choose*, but as a last resource which failure and misery *accept*; and that colonies were long legislated for, not as integral parts of the empire, immense sea-joined Devonshires and Yorkshires, but as remote Alsatian dependencies—refuges for the bankrupt, the destitute, and the desperate, the beggar, the outlaw, and the thief.

But it is not, I think, in these lights that *posterity* will view colonies, emigrants, and emigration.

What *is* emigration? Emigration, I take it, is an inherent principle of animated nature, an instinctive desire common to man and to every living thing in creation to seek the gratification of certain implanted wants in those places, which reason in the one, instinct in the other, point out as best suited to *supply* such wants; and man's emigration, the periodical movements of animals, the migration of birds, the swarming of bees, all spring from this one common principle.

Emigration, indeed, was a necessity of human existence. If the first children of men, vegetable like, had remained *stationary* on the spot they were born in, had never wandered beyond their

natal limits, never emigrated to "fresh fields and pastures new," the time must soon have come when their increased numbers would more than have consumed all the food which such limits could have been made to produce; when one of two things must have come to pass—either a stationary and accumulated population must have adopted some stringent Malthusian practice, and so have *stopped* their foodless increase, or have adopted cannibalism, and *consumed* it.

Happily, however, with man's desire to increase and multiply, an all-wise Providence coupled man's desire to seek *space* for his increase and multiplication—to *emigrate;* and the glorious result of emigration is that instead of the human race being still confined to a handful of skin-clad shepherds tending their scanty flocks on Eastern hills, it is a thousand millions of sentient beings endowed with the divine light of reason, and enjoying the blessings of existence in every fair province of the earth from pole to pole.

The pages of Holy Writ, of ancient and modern history, teem with encouragements to emigration and illustrations of it. When the Lord said unto Abraham, "Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee; and I will make of thee a great nation, and bless thee, and make thy name great," Abraham departed, and *he* was an emigrant, planting a colony. Classic history's mightiest heroes, too, were many of them great emigrant ἀρχηγοι who planted colonies. Carthage and the Grecian States sprang from emigration. The chief who led his followers from Gaul to Albion was an emigrant planting a colony, the colony of Ancient Britons; and if European emigration and the planting of colonies had stopped here, England might still have been inhabited by a handful of ragged savages worshipping the mistletoe and idol gods. But European emigration did *not* stop here—it continued to flow into Britain. The aboriginal British savages were destroyed by, or amalgamated with, successive warrior-emigrant bands of Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans; and thus mongrel emigration created what, step by step, has grown into the great Anglo-Saxon race of 1861.

But without some further and improved *sort* of emigration, leading to the creation and acquisition of *new-world colonies*,

this mere *creation* of the English race would never, probably, have raised England to any much greater pitch of power and civilisation than she had been able to attain before she *did* commence an improved sort of emigration and the planting of new-world colonies — say the pitch she had attained in the Elizabethan era, when, as we gather from Macaulay's lustrous page, half the kingdom was wild moor and waste, and the wolf and wild cat still prowled the forest; when the journey from London to Scotland was fuller far of peril than the journey now from London to New Zealand; when Manchester scarce counted 6000 people, and only a few poor fishermen dried their nets at Brighton; and when the Queen herself trod upon reeds, fastened her clothes with wooden skewers, and fed the dainty maids of honour on beef, salt-fish, and beer.

For we have to recollect that this little island of ours, barren in soil, bleak in climate, yielding but coarse food and raiment for its people, possessed nothing *indigenous* which it could exchange with richer countries for articles of comfort and luxury. England had no cotton or silk; no gold, silver, or precious stones; no tea, no coffee; no sugar, rice, or fragrant spices; no costly woods or useful gums; no healing drugs or Tyrian dyes; and no great store even of wool, flax, or timber.

But, like the bees, we went *abroad* for honey; we commenced an improved sort of emigration. We planted *colonies* in lands where nature had been more bountiful; sent back the raw riches of the earth, opened our coal-fields, and invoked the giant genius of steam, fashioned these raw materials into every conceivable object for man's use, comfort, and luxury, supplied ourselves, and sold the annual surplus to the world,—thus *creating* commerce, shipping, and manufactures; vastly improving their sister, agriculture, and raising this little Albion of ours from her poor estate of a rugged island of the German Ocean to be Queen of the Seas, and mistress of half the world.

The little band of Pilgrim Fathers, who, on the 6th of September, 1620, set sail in the good ship Mayflower, to seek a refuge and the right of worship in the then rugged wilderness of America, were the heroic heralds of a mighty movement, which, as by the wand of enchantment, has since changed that rugged wilderness into one of the greatest nations the world has

ever seen. Since this period, England has been constantly throwing off her swarms, and sending forth hive after hive of earnest, enlightened, Christian communities. Continent and island, wilderness and jungle, forest and prairie, but a few years since the desolate haunts of the savage and of prowling and creeping things, are now alive with the busy hum of commerce, and echoing with the glad sound of the church-going bell. On that luxuriant plain which, but a few years since, revealed no trace of human kind, save the wreathing smoke from the wild man's solitary wigwam, we see flocks and herds and golden crops surrounding a busy city, teeming with civilised life. The clear waters of that noble river, for ages undisturbed by aught save the native's frail canoe, or the wild beasts which came at night-fall to lap their drink, are now ploughed by gaudy steamers, and thronged by fleets of tall merchantmen and rich argosies from the most distant regions of the earth. And we are winning these new worlds of ours, planting our banners over these new and fruitful southern lands, *not* as in days of old, by the blighting march of armies, by fire, sword, and desolation; but by the gentle force of *peace*, by the prowess of the good Knight Industry, by agriculture and commerce, by the plough and the loom; and there "is more glory to the hero in laying *such* foundations of a mighty State—though no trumpets resound with his victory, though no laurels may shadow his tomb—than in forcing the onward progress of his race over burning cities and hecatombs of men."

If asked, What *fruits* emigration has produced us—we point to our magnificent colonial empire, peopled by seven millions of our race, and stretching over an area quadruple the size of Europe—an empire won from the wilderness by emigrants and emigration, an empire which, in these its infant days, creates nearly half our trade and employs nearly half our shipping, which consumes millions sterling per annum of our manufactures, and which supplies us with millions sterling per annum of gold, wool, timber, and a thousand articles of raw produce in return: articles necessary to the continued existence of half our manufactures, and essential to the well-being and prosperity, nay, to the actual feeding and subsistence of hundreds of thousands of our manufacturing population.

Indeed, in the year 1861, it is time that anti-emigrationists and all who scoff at emigrants and emigration should rub the scales from their eyes, widen their conceptions, and admit and profit by such truths as these: that but for emigration and its fruits they might have remained the breechless heathens their ancestors were; that if by stroke of retributive justice they were shorn of all which emigration, colonies, and emigrants have conferred on them, they might be glad to exchange places with the tattooed natives of the Tonga Isles; that it is as clearly the design of Providence that the fertile wastes of the New World should be fructified by the emigrant populations of the Old World, as that the sun should give light and heat; that it is the *emigrant* who has carried the language of Shakspeare and Milton over half the earth; that if Britain be the empire on which the sun never sets, it is mainly to her *emigrant* warriors that Britain owes the boast; and that emigration is an older and a nobler thing, and one productive of far grander results, than arms, arts, commerce, law, physic, or divinity.

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Excess of Emigration.—As in the mother country there are still to be found laggards in thought who bemoan the abolition of the Corn Laws, so are there still to be found among us those who bewail what they are pleased to term our "excess of emigration," and who assert that the annual exodus of a quarter of a million of our people* is a draining of the nation's life-blood.

Now, doubtless, excess of emigration is a thing *possible*—little England wanting *people*, would be in worse plight than little England wanting *space*. But while we count our unemployed and our half employed, our beggars and our criminals, our bankrupts and insolvents, by tens of thousands—while we count our gray locust paupers, our true *fruges consumere nati*, by hundreds of thousands—while we see thousands of strapping young men exhibited in shops doing their sisters' work of serving tape and bobbing—while an advertisement in the *Times* for an accomplished governess where, "as the family is serious," no salary will be given, is answered by twenty charming young

* The average annual emigration for the last ten years has been 253,958.

ladies, each anxious to be the victim of the wretched cheat—while our large towns display the spectacle of thousands rising every morning without the means of getting the morning's meal—while the "Song of the Shirt" remains a *true* song, and prostitution ramps or cowers in every street—while social cancers like *these* are patent to us all, we have good assurance that emigration is not o'erpassing those wholesome limits within which it is the certain source of national prosperity and individual well-being, just as the sun is the certain source of light and heat—good assurance that our peril is not the *draining* of the nation's life-blood, but the presence of *too much* of this life-blood; and that if we ceased to deplete a little by emigration we might some day die from apoplexy, sudden and shriftless.

It is asserted, too, by some—including Mr. Jones and other Chartist leaders—that there is no need for Englishmen to emigrate, because there are plenty of waste acres in England to feed every English mouth. Now, so far as this proposition embodies a *physical possibility* it is unquestionably a true one,—it might be a physical possibility to remove the Goodwin Sands, or to bridge over the Straits of Dover. If our national "difficulty" were only to grow every mouthful of food *in* England which the people of England consume, the "difficulty," for a period at least, might be overcome. England might be converted into a huge kitchen-garden, and *forced* into increased production. Old associations and rustic prejudices slowly subverted and overthrown, the whole soul of the nation bent on producing food,—money, steam and labour would soon destroy every royal chase and forest, plough up every breezy common, fence in every purple heath, and substitute trim iron hurdles for our present wasteful green lanes and hedges of wild rose and May thorn. The sewerage of cities, redolent of cat, rat, and dog, might be converted into a kind of agricultural forcing-broth; and, as proposed in one of Mr. Mechi's latest inspirations, be conveyed by drain-pipe along the rail, and poured over farms in fructifying showers, such as Danaë never caught. Doubtless, the food of man and pig might be wonderfully increased. And if, after such agricultural revolution and food crusade, the people, in course of time, should again have so increased as again to cry for bread, soil might be scraped up and

spread on terraces, and cabbages and quartern-loaves produced on our house-tops. A portion of the people, too, might become aquatic, dwelling in canal-boats, like the Chinese, and subsisting on ducks, water-rats, and other stray river waifs. We might have turnips up to our gravel walks, giant beet-root at our front doors, early potatoes in the window box, an extra pig in the back kitchen; and England might hope to become one vast food and cotton manufactory—a Paradise Lost perhaps to puling poets like Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Milton; but a Paradise Regained to *practical* men like our Cobdens, and Mechis, and Brights.

But, though there are many "waste acres" in England, and though it might be a thing physically possible to reclaim them, and to turn England into pig-sties and food-mills, I do not see how the Chartist claimants of such "waste acres" are ever to become practically able to bring about that agricultural revolution and substitute for emigration which they would enforce.

These "waste acres" have all owners—owners who say and who ought to know that such wastes would not *pay* for cultivation. There are tens of thousands of waste acres in the Highlands of Aberdeenshire—but the only man who would accept them as a gift, if coupled with the condition of *cultivating* them, would be the madman. Assume, even, that all revolutionary difficulties of *obtaining* the waste lands of England were over; and that Mr. Ernest Jones and a band of a thousand London artizans were organized and turned loose to do their best on Bodmin Moor. I know a little about the work of reclaiming even *fertile* wild lands: lands where nature has done everything she could, not *against* the cultivator, as on Scotch Highlands or Cornish moors, but where she done everything in *favour* of him, as in the plains and valleys of New Zealand and Tasmania. I have, I fancy, done more work with axe and mattock that Mr. Jones would bargain to do, and I would respectfully tell him in all friendliness of spirit, and in all sympathy for our working-classes, that the only traces soon to be discovered of the emigrants with whom he would colonise Bodmin Moor would be the graves of those who had lingered long enough on the spot to die there. Now in our *Colonies*, in our hundred and one Yorkshires and Devonshires, and Kents and Surreys, to be found in

Canada, Australia, Tasmania, and Zealandia there are millions of fertile acres, crying for owners and cultivators; and if Mr. Jones and the Chartist party would truly benefit the working-classes of these good kingdoms they would ask the Government, not for Universal Suffrage, but for the means of reaching these young Lands, where the steady labourer may soon plant his foot on his own freehold, and plough his own acres to the popular tune of money in both pockets.

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STATE EMIGRATION.—The vast political, social and commercial benefits conferred on the mother country by the golden stream of emigration, might well, I think, incite us to attempt both to increase the volume of the stream and to improve its course. Putting aside those great political and social advantages, glanced at in the Appendix to this work, and viewing emigration, here, simply as a means of annually putting so many additional pounds into our pockets, we might, I think, most reasonably assert that a judicious system of "State Emigration," would, in a few years, relieve us of one-half of our entire poor rates, and of one-half of our entire crime rates; and, further, that it would thus convert tens of thousands of our incipient paupers and criminals, our unproductive and dangerous classes, into substantial Australasian, African and Canadian colonists, who would materially increase our supplies of gold, wool, corn, timber, and raw produce, and who would require and become cash customers for a vast additional quantity of our manufactures. To require us to demonstrate this assertion by nice and subtle argument, would be to require us to demonstrate the existence of the sun by telescopic observation. The assertion rests on the great patent facts that three in four of our poor and semi-destitute, those who are driven to become our criminals and our paupers *would* eagerly emigrate if they *could*—that the State cost of helping a portion of them to emigrate, of getting rid of them once and for ever, would not amount to the one year's cost of shutting them up here as costly unproductive felons and paupers—that a century's experience of emigration proves that nine working men in ten who get to a colony *do* become prosperous colonists; *do* produce an immense quantity of raw staples neces-

sary to the flourishing existence of our trade and manufactures; and *do* become cash customers for an immense quantity of our goods from Manchester, Glasgow, Paisley, Sheffield, Birmingham, Bradford, and Belfast.

Indeed, the spectacle of our Christmas doles, our alms-givings, our soup-kitchens, our blacking brigades, our pauper palaces, our model prisons, our penitentiaries, might almost make angels weep to see so much human philanthropy marred by so much human folly. Doubtless, the rude associations of savage tribes and the polity of civilised nations, from the earliest dawn of history down to the present day, have exhibited blunders of judgment and whimsical caprices of legislation at which we smile with pity or contempt — but, surely, since the world began there has been neither savage tribe nor civilised community which, in the conduct of its public affairs, has exhibited half the amount of suicidal doltishness which the United Kingdom exhibits year after year in spending hundreds of thousands on paupers and prisoners, instead of tens of thousands on emigrants and emigrant ships. Spending five or six millions, every year and for ever, in the maintenance, relief or punishment of a million of paupers,* possible paupers, and petty criminals, is, as regards any *pecuniary* return which such outlay makes the mother country, almost as barren an operation as if the money were every year tossed into the North Sea. But spending one million, once and for ever, in removing a portion of these idle hands and empty mouths to her broad counties in Canada, and Australia and Africa, and Zealandia, would be like the fruitful operation of once sowing a fertile field with seed, and ever after reaping a goodly annual crop.†

I apprehend that one argument our Anti-Emigrationists

* The sum expended in the maintenance and out-door relief of the paupers alone, in the United Kingdom in the year 1860, was nearly 8,000,000*l*.

† "There are upwards of 130,000 able-bodied paupers in the unions of England and Wales. Taking their maintenance at 8*l*. per head, these persons annually cost one million and forty thousand pounds. Suppose it cost 24*l*. a head to remove them to Australia, the total expense of the operation would be three millions one hundred and twelve thousand pounds. If this sum were raised by way of loan on the poor-rates, the interest, at 3*l*. per cent., would be little more than 93,000*l*. Every emigrant might be bound to pay back his passage-money as soon as he was able—an obligation

would advance in justification of our "thief and pauper preservation" and "anti-emigration" policy would be this—that if we adopted any system of State Emigration many of our working men would disappear, and that, thus, our manufacturing and employing classes would have to pay those who remained higher wages. Doubtless, *one* result of a good national system of emigration *would* be the full employment and better pay of those sons of toil who did not emigrate; and manufacturers and employers *would*, unquestionably, have to pay higher wages. But manufacturers and employers are not the only orders of the community; and if they were, the plea of a rise in the price of labour would be a most worthless plea to urge against emigration—for where increased emigration took one pound out of the manufacturer's pocket in higher wages it would put two in, in saving him a large portion of his crime and pauper taxes, in increasing the general prosperity and contentment of the community, and in materially increasing both our colonial export and our colonial import trade. In truth, the argument that it is sound policy to continue paying some millions a year in charity-taxes, crime-taxes, and pauper-taxes, for the maintenance of a portion of our poor and destitute, only in order that when we want to employ one of these poor and destitute we may hire him for 1*s.* a day instead of 2*s.*, is an argument so repulsive to common sense, so opposite to the first principles of political economy and common humanity, that it is difficult to imagine any one seriously urging it in 1861 as an argument against emigration.

Another spurious argument which might perhaps be urged against any State extension of emigration is, virtually, the one we have already glanced at in the remarks on "excess of emigration," namely, *that it would reduce our population, and that our population is none too large.* Now, passing over the question of whether nearly 30,000,000 of people in these little islands is, or is not

in which many would fail, but which many also would perform. "It is difficult to estimate the amount which would thus be returned; but even were not a single shilling repaid, the difference between 93,000*l.* and 1,040,000*l.* leaves a good margin for a sinking fund. There are not many financial operations the result of which would at once be so certain and so brilliant."—*Times.*

too large a population for these little islands to support, we may, I think, reasonably argue that an increase of emigration would *not* lead to a decrease of population. An increase of emigration would be attended with an increase of national prosperity and individual well-doing; there would be less crowding and rivalry and competition in all the walks of life; there would be an increased export and import trade, and a decreased taxation; profits would be high, wages high, employment plentiful; the agricultural interest, the shipping interest, the commercial interest, the manufacturing interest, would all be flourishing; and under these circumstances the *matrimonial* interest would unquestionably be flourishing, and pay perhaps even double profits. A large portion of the male millions of the United Kingdom do not take wives because, as they avow, the times are not good enough to allow them to indulge in expensive luxuries; and the production of children in this country is by no means commensurate with our intrinsic power of producing children.

The Registrar shows us that marriages increase in seasons of national prosperity—a good system of emigration would permanently increase the national prosperity; it would, therefore, increase the number of marriages, and thus increase the number of children; and as, under a good system of emigration and colonisation, emigration and colonies would offer a career for millions of the unborn, and remove all "restrictive fears" as to what is to *become* of the children of marriages, we might reasonably say, that not only would emigration increase the *number* of marriages, but that it would also increase the *produce* of marriages; and that, thus, the steady annual emigration of a larger number of our people to our colonies, would not *decrease* but would *increase* our home population.*

In truth, however, the aim of those who would establish some system of "State emigration," is not so much to *increase* emigration as to *improve the direction of its course.* Of the seven

* France exhibits a marked proof of the truth of this argument: the people of no European country emigrate so little as the French—no European people increase so slowly: the people of no European country emigrate so freely as the people of the United Kingdom—no European people, I believe, increase so fast.

hundred people who daily leave us, fewer than three hundred go to our colonies—nearly five hundred go to the United States. In the last fifty years, while some 3,000,000 of our surplus people have gone to the United States, fewer than 2,000,000 have gone to our various colonies. Now, even in a commercial, a pecuniary point of view this is a fact to be regretted. British colonists, especially British Australasian colonists, consume, I think, per head, almost sixfold the quantity of British manufactures consumed by American citizens; and if the whole of these 5,000,000 of our countrymen had gone to Canada and Australia, and Africa and Zealandia, instead of going to the extent of two-thirds to a foreign country, we should have had customers for some millions of pounds more of our manufactures, and might have been able to import almost double quantities of gold, and wool, and raw produce, in return. But our commercial loss, though heavy, is not the greatest loss. We lose our customers; but, what is worse, we lose countrymen. The most valuable article which ever leaves our shores, the emigrant, goes by thousands, goes by tens of thousands, goes by hundreds of thousands, to increase the wealth and strength of a rival power. State-system emigrationists say that these hundreds of thousands of our countrymen should go to people our own counties in Canada and Australia, and Africa, and Zealandia, and that under a sound State system of emigration they *would* go thither, and thus wonderfully increase our national wealth and strength.

Believing, then, that the policy of removing our surplus poor to our own broad colonies would be a good policy—believing that it is the empty belly, not the wicked heart, which annually makes criminals of thousands of our semi-destitute countrymen—believing that the policy of assisting our thousands of young destitute to get to a colony as *emigrants*, would be a cheaper, a wiser, a more humane policy, than our policy of nursing them up here as costly paupers until, blossomed into felons, we have to transport them as *convicts*—believing, in short, that the panacea for half the social evils which disgrace our nation would be a sound State system of poor-man emigration, I would now offer a few remarks on what I conceive to be the equitable principle, of the apportionment of the *cost* of carrying out such "State Emigration" system.

When a working man removes from the mother country to one of our colonies, the good effected is a *tripartite* good. The mother country is benefited, the working man is benefited, the colony is benefited; and, virtually, each is benefited in about an equal degree. In practical equity, therefore, the cost of the removal should be a tripartite cost—the mother country should pay a third, the colony should pay a third, and the labourer (a year or so after he became a colonist) should pay a third. This would not only be the most *equitable* division of the cost—it would, I think, be a division to which each of the contracting parties would willingly assent. The mother country, at the cost of from 4*l.* to 8*l.* per head (as the emigrant might elect to go to one of our near or more distant colonies), would transplant one of her oak sapling thinnings to the rich soil and free space of Canada or Australasia; the colonies, at least the Australasian colonies, which now bear the whole cost of importing the working man, would of course gladly agree to pay only one-third of the cost instead of the whole; and we know that the working man would jump at the offer of being conveyed with his family to Canada, Australia, or New Zealand, on condition that he should repay a third of his passage-money to a young Land wherein he would soon become the yeoman freeholder.

Adopting this, then, as the great pecuniary principle of that system of State emigration and colonization which I would fain see the mother country adopt, it is not necessary here to discuss, either the minor features of the system, or the details of that simple working practice under which it might be the most effectively carried out. I would, however, remark that I would make it elective with the working man as to which colony he would go to; and that as the mother country and the colony would bear an equal share of the expense of the *removal* of the emigrant, they should each alike have an equal share in the *selection* of the emigrant. Though the Australasian colonies have hitherto paid the entire cost of transplanting the labouring emigrant, and have therefore gained and exercised what we may term the commercial right of demanding the best article for their money, it has always seemed to me, colonist as I am, that Australia and New Zealand have displayed considerable impudence in coming here, picking and culling our poor people like

cattle in a fair. No doubt, young married couples who can plough and sow, and reap and mow; and brawny smiths, masons and carpenters, whom no day tires, and whom the pot-house never sees, would be preferred in the colony; but it so happens, that these are the very people who are preferred in the mother country. The truth is, that in the immense unpeopled wastes of Canada and Australia and Zealandia, the human being is so valuable an article, that provided he were not a confirmed sot, the poorest creature that ever stepped in the shape of a "worker," would be an *acquisition* there; and though the colonies are entitled to ask for some of our good stuff, they are not entitled to demand all our first-class articles, and to refuse all our seconds; and when John Bull's sons, New South Wales and Victoria, and South Australia and New Zealand, come to our labour market with their "This woman won't suit, that man we don't like, this girl is too young, that man is too old, this person is Irish, that person can't plough, this person is not five feet ten, that person has red hair," &c. &c., I for one feel that John Bull's sons would be considerably benefited by the administration of a good paternal kicking. In the selection of State-emigration emigrants, therefore, I would have the mother country nominate one,* and the colonies nominate another, so that the plums of the pudding might be fairly apportioned.

I have not forgotten that the opponents of any system of State-emigration, such as this, might liken it to a "shovelling out of paupers," and ask us how all these labouring emigrants, carrying with them no *capitalist* emigrants, are to be supported until they can support themselves? But I speak from wide and

* It would, however, have to be distinctly understood that no convicts or convicted criminals should be smuggled in under this arrangement. Individually, I do not join in the Colonists' cry, or bray, against convicts. I recollect having read that our criminal code fifty years ago was Draco's in all but simplicity. For light crimes, for light transgressions of the law, which human want and woe oft *compelled*, cruel judge and stolid jury hung and banished without compunction or remorse; and I venture to assert, that thousands of this convict host were as much sinned against as sinning. Transported to a new land, no longer the victims of sharp hunger or distress, they became as men new born, patient of toil, laborious, honest, and successful; and, to hundreds of them, to thousands of their descendants, I would as lief hold out the right hand of fellowship as to any of my own kith or kin. If 5000 convicts were sent to

ample experience when I say that the main reason why thousands of our small capitalists in the mother country (our reduced families, with from 500*l.* to 5000*l.*) turn away from the great tonic of emigration is, simply and solely, because they see that in all our emigration fields there is a marked scarcity of labour: they would gladly go and employ themselves and their capital in cultivating the fertile wastes of new lands—but they shrink from attacking the wilderness where, owing to the scarcity and dearness of labour, they fancy they would have to do all the work themselves; where, slaves of toil, they think they would sink into mere hewers of wood and drawers of water; where the mistress and daughters of the family might not only have to do their own baking, but also their own scrubbing and washing; and where the master might sometimes find the carpenter asking him a guinea a day for building his house, and the labourer half-a-guinea a day for helping him to plough his fields.

Nothing is more shy and sensitive than capital—where it sees a safe opening, no matter the distance, there it will go—where it does not see a safe opening, there, no power will force it to go. If labour were sent to new and fertile lands like those possessed by many of our colonies, capital would surely follow; and to every one hundred labourers taken out by the State, there would soon, I think, be twenty small capitalists taken out by themselves.

Under a judiciously distributed and judiciously timed exportation of labour, there can be no doubt that the State-emigrant labourer would, in the great majority of cases, find good employment in the new Land at once on his arrival, and in a few weeks would be incorporated into the community as a self-supporting and productive member of it. But with a view of preventing

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New Zealand to-morrow, I should consider the value of any property I possessed there to be increased 10 per cent., and should regard the colony as an equally safe and pleasant home. Convictism, in my opinion, may be likened to medicinal poisons—a small dose of either is conducive to health, a large dose is death. Here, however, I am a sort of heretic, and the Colonies would not, I think, join in any State system of emigration without the mother country would distinctly promise to exclude all convicted criminals from her selection of emigrants. Indeed, the mother country, under a State-emigration system of this nature, could well forego the sending of criminals, inasmuch as such a system as this would relieve her of the presence of one-half of those who become criminals.

any fleeting or partial "lack of employment," from which the emigrant labourer might occasionally suffer on his first arrival in the colony, and before private capital had sought him out and created him one of its well-paid workers, he might most advantageously be employed on public works. Large portions of our finest colonies are literally destitute of those roads, bridges, docks, wharves, quays, buildings, and other public works, which double the productive export power of young communities; and if the mother country would, here and there, and now and then, lend the young colony 50,000*l*. or 100,000*l*. to be expended in necessary public works, not only would she create work for any labour-seeking emigrant, but she would wonderfully benefit the new colony by giving it *at once* those effective "weapons" for cultivating the soil and doubling the production of raw materials for her manufactures which the young colony, *unaided by such loans*, might not be able to arm herself with for many years to come.*

Believing, then, that an organized State system of emigration founded on the "tripartite-cost" principle, and the fair selection of emigrants, would be signally beneficial to the nation, I would suggest the following heads of a plan for getting up that popular agitation on the question which, now that India and Italy are quiet, China chastised, Chartism all but defunct, and Reform languid, might stimulate the Legislature to take the subject into consideration.

1. Let there be formed in London a committee of colonists, clergymen, members of parliament, merchants, and others, to be called the "Emigration League Committee."

2. Let such Committee draw up a circular briefly stating the views and objects of the Emigration League; and let the motto of such circular be "*Emigrants and Colonies, not Paupers and Prisons.*" Then let the Committee draw up a short petition to both Houses of Parliament, praying the Government to communicate with the various Colonial Legislatures, and ascertain how far these bodies would support a State system of emigration and colonization, founded on the principle of *tripartite* cost and the mutual selection of emigrants.

* Colonial loans of this character would prove a far safer and more profitable investment for the stored-up millions of the mother country than Mexican bonds, American railways, or Russian and Turkish loans.

3. Let the Committee then send a copy of such circular, and a copy of such petition to the Mayor, and to one Clergyman, and to one Dissenting Minister of every town in the United Kingdom.

4. Let them request some popular resident—if possible some leading working man—in every such town to call a public meeting to advertise such petition, to procure signatures, and to enrol members of the League.

5. Let such signed petitions be returned to the Committee, and then presented to both Houses of Parliament.

If the Committee managed well, they might, I think by this plan, procure a million of signatures, and that too at an expense of not more than 500*l*. Mr. Gladstone would be the man to present the monster roll in the Lower House; while Earl Grey would, I think, feel proud to present it in the Peers: and thus before 1870, the British empire might have established a State Emigration System, perhaps as valuable to her as Magna Charta, Trial by Jury, Representative Government, or Free Press.

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NATURAL CAUSE OF THE GOOD OF EMIGRATION.—The natural, or political-economical, cause and reason why emigration is generally beneficial to a man is simply this:—industrial combination of capital and labour, operating on soil and on the productions of soil, produces the wealth of old countries—but, in old densely-peopled countries, like England, there are so many millions of people struggling to share in and divide this wealth that very many of them get very little of it, while many, trampled down in the crowd, get none at all. Now, capital and labour operating on soil, produce the wealth of new countries: and, though here, there is far less of the *artificial* element of wealth, that is, "capital and labour," there is far more of the *natural* element of wealth, that is, "soil;" and the virgin soil is rich in unrifled treasures. Thus, as shown in the remarks appended to Table I., in the Statistical chapter, the wealth produced in a new virgin country is, relatively, much greater than the wealth produced in an old *used* country, and in the new country there are so few people to share in and divide the wealth that each person secures a fair portion of it.

To brothers of the rod I may illustrate this reasoning by a

figure. In old country streams, millions of eager fishermen crowd the banks; hundreds with costly tackle, in preserved waters, get a salmon; thousands draw out the poor piscine prize of roach or dace; tens of thousands catch but gudgeon and sticklebacks; many catch only colds and rheumatics, while not a few of the weaklings get pushed into the mudded waters where they sink to fish no more. Now the streams of new countries are fuller of fish than the streams of old countries, and there are so few fishermen to fish them and exhaust their finny treasures, that every emigrant fisherman, armed with proper tackle, may step to the bank and make sure of taking, not perhaps regal salmon, but goodly grilse or trout. In short, in old-world lotteries of life, there is one gigantic prize to innumerable blanks—in new-world lotteries of life there may be no gigantic prize, but there are innumerable goodly prizes and scarcely any blanks.

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THE MODE IN WHICH EMIGRATION IS PECUNIARILY BENEFICIAL.—However beneficial, though, emigration may be, some misconception frequently exists as to the *way* in which it is beneficial. It is not so much that emigration offers us *high profits*, as that it *opens to us many more profitable pursuits*. 2000*l*. worked in a profitable business in England, might pay almost as good a percentage as 2000*l*. worked in a profitable business in New Zealand. But where there is *one* pursuit in which such sum could be profitably worked in the former country there are *fifty* in the latter. In rich, surplus-capital-accumulated countries like England, the various pursuits of the community are conducted on a wholesale, large-capital, monopolising scale; and in the competition for business, the large capitalist beats down, drives off, or destroys, the small one. In England, indeed, almost all our industrial pursuits are conducted on such a large scale, the effective working and management of them is so costly, the various public and private charges to which they are subject are so heavy, that a great number of the common businesses of life *cannot* be entered into successfully by great numbers of the people: they either do *not* attempt these businesses, when their little capitals lie barren at 4*l*. and 5*l*. per cent. and they themselves remain idlers, clerks, assistants, dependents and the

like; or they *do* attempt them, and fail. No man, here, possessed only of a thousand pounds or so, could buy land and farm his own freehold; or rent, stock, and carry on any good farm, mill, brewery, manufactory, or shop. But if, with such a sum, some man, more sanguine or simple than his neighbours, *did* venture into some such business, he would probably find, wherever he might make his start, that there was some old, established, large-capitalist rival in possession of the field, who would under-buy and under-sell him, out-puff, and out-credit him: a rival or rivals against whom he might maintain a gallant but anxious struggle for a few months, or for a few years, but before whom he would at last have to retreat with the loss of perhaps all of the little capital he had been fighting with—he rashly ventured into the battle with half a weapon and no armour, and he crawls from the field, smitten to death, or sorely mauled.

Now in New Zealand and in all good young colonies there *are* no large capitalists to swallow up small ones: all industrial pursuits are conducted on a smaller, more primitive, less costly, scale, and almost every man may start as master, and find some business or occupation to suit his means.

Emigration to a young colony, too, enables a man to *save* more out of his profits that he can save in an old, high-taxed, socially-artificial, country like England. If the annual profits of a man's business, here, be 500*l.* the various municipal and imperial taxes he has to pay, together with the expenses of that showy, keep-up-appearance style of living which his family must maintain if they would not be slandered and sneered at by that ubiquitous social tyrant Mrs. Grundy and her sister hags, will make such a hole in his 500*l.* that very little will be left of it to add to his capital, and he will *accumulate* slowly. Now, in New Zealand, there are no taxes to pay; Mrs. Grundy is unknown there; a family lives just as well there, just as comfortably there, just as their neighbours live; but all live in a more honest, simple, good old-fashioned, homely style, and a man will find that out of his annual profits of 500*l.*, he has annually something left to add to his capital, or to invest in land.

In making these remarks, however, as to the openings found in New Zealand for the industrial investment of small capitals,

I do not wish it to be supposed that I think New Zealand emigration would not pecuniarily benefit much larger capitalists than the "few-hundreds" men. On the contrary, I believe there is no country in the world where capitals of from 5000*l.* to 10,000*l.* could now be invested better than in New Zealand, and no country wherein so many sorts and classes of emigrants would realise their varied views and wishes. But, if asked to define the most palpable pecuniary advantages which emigration offers to the majority of emigrants, namely those of the small-capitalist class, the families landing with a thousand or two in their pockets, I should briefly define them as being these—*first*, the number of industrial pursuits offered for the profitable employment of small capitals which can find no profitable employment at home, and which, therefore, lie barren at home at 4*l.* and 5*l.* per cent.—*second*, the higher value of money, the treble interest (the 10*l.* and 15*l.* per cent. instead of the 4*l.* and 5*l.*) procurable on passive investments, such as mortgages and discounts—*third*, the ability to lay by and capitalize a much larger portion of the annual profits of any pursuit than could be laid by and capitalized in England—and *fourth*, the facilities existing in a young country, containing millions of fertile acres purchaseable for a few shillings per acre, for the prosperous planting out, the marrying and settling, of large families of sons and daughters.

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Social Benefits of Emigration.—If we derive substantial *pecuniary* benefits from emigration, these pecuniary benefits, almost necessarily, are attended with certain *social* benefits. If, from a state of poverty, pecuniary dependence, or prostration, emigration raises us to comparative affluence and independence, it is clear, I think, that emigration must benefit us in many ways besides and beyond in our mere purses and pockets. For instance, it confers on us certain social rank and status, arising both from the positive and the *relative* pecuniary benefits it bestows. Brown, in England, has 2000*l.*, he fears to risk his little all in any over-crowded business, so he funds it at 3½ per cent., seeks some little situation, ekes out his scanty means,

and just lives. He is a householder, he pays Queen's taxes, he has a vote, and a seat in church, and by law he is a citizen of the State—but what is Brown's *social rank?* Does not society hold him cheap and rank him as a sort of reputable pauper? Gentleman as he may be in the best sense of the word, are there not hundreds of people, neighbour worms in more brilliant skins, crawling quickly through life with him, who would no more visit him than they would visit dustman or rag-merchant: people whose wives and daughters would blush to be seen speaking to his family in the streets, or who would cross over to avoid them; people whose carriages, did they not *splash* him now and then, might seem to roll through a different world from his; people who have little more social sympathy, communion, and intercourse with him and his than they have with the Fejee Islanders or the savages of Central Africa?

Now, wise Brown emigrates to New Zealand: he buys land, commences creating an estate of his own, which pays him an annual 20*l.* per cent., and becomes one of the "upper ten thousand"—one with whom the highest in the land are happy to associate. Virtually, Brown drives his carriage—for he drives his carriage as much as any one else does, and the difference between *nobody* driving a carriage and *everybody* driving a carriage is a difference more of words than of things. Virtually, emigration has *knighted* Brown; and Mrs. Brown and Rose Ada are of the *haute volée*, and go to Court.

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SETTLING FAMILIES.—Another great social and moral benefit of emigration is the provision and free space it offers for the half-dozen sons and daughters. Here, certainly, I do not speak from experience; but here, I fear, I know enough to know that full half of those carking cares of life which shorten or embitter the existence of thousands of English parents, arises from the oft-put question, "*What is to become of the Children?*" Now, I venture to say that the reader shall be the confidential friend of every family in New Zealand, and never hear this question even alluded to, that is, alluded to in any anxious or desponding sense. And this arises simply from the fact that men and women, or the materials for men and women, children, are the

most valuable possessions which a young and fertile country like New Zealand can possess. Her rich virgin soil, the unrifled treasures of her broad domains, need but the magic contact of population, the magic touch of human industry, to endow and to enrich millions. New Zealand is as large a country as the United Kingdom, and one, by nature, more fertile—her population is less than that of many an English town! She presents an area of nearly 1000 acres of land to every man, woman, and child at present in the country—purchasable for the most part at a few shillings per acre, and capable of annually producing many pounds per acre. The seventy millions of wild acres in New Zealand cry for people; the young agriculture, the young commerce, all the young careers and institutions of the young land cry for people; and it is true to say that, in our young Britain of the South, children are like arrows in the hands of the strong man, and that happy is the emigrant who has his quiver full.

The reader may have seen a curious but sanguine little book with the attractive title of "How to grow Rich?" Should the ingenious author ever extend his pages, and recommend emigration to New Zealand, his first maxim should be, "marry and multiply."

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Rural Life.—Another social advantage of emigration is, that it enables us to escape from the rabble roar and rout of towns, to escape the moral and physical filth and pollutions which may contaminate and must disgust all who are "in populous city pent;" and to gratify that longing for a freehold of our own and a country life which seems to be one of the most common and the most wholesome desires of nature.

> "Hackneyed in business, wearied at that oar
> Which thousands, once fast chained to, quit no more,
> But which, when life at ebb runs weak and low,
> All wish, or seem to wish, they could forego;
> The statesman, lawyer, merchant, man of trade,
> Pant for the refuge of some rural shade."

An eloquent writer, speaking of rural life in a colony, says:—

"There the necessities of present life, the every-day calls upon our industry and action, the constantly-shifting scene of

labour and activity, the rural cares which become comforts, bid us live out of ourselves in the world of external realities. There our friends are not our rivals, nor our neighbours our competitors. The sight of 'the human face divine' sickens us not with a sea of the squalid visages of multitudinous population, but brightens our own countenance with welcome to a brother. The mind has no time to canker within itself; we have to grapple with the palpable realities of the physical elements and the earth that is around us, not to wrestle with the diseased anxieties of the brooding mind. The nervous energy which in populous city life festers in the brain, and eats into the heart, is exhausted in the healthful activity of muscular exertion. The steers have to be yoked, the heifers low for milking, the new-fallen lambs bleat their accession to our flock. The maple yields its sugar, the sheep its fleece, the fruit hangs for our gathering. There is no exciseman to forbid our brewing our own October, or making our own soap and candles. With the day's work, the day's cares are over; the soul broods not, but sleeps. Tired nature bids us take no thought for to-morrow, for we have the promise that seed-time and harvest shall never fail; our house and our land are our own, and we have fuel for the felling. Children become a blessing and helpers to us. Nature is within, and above, and around us. 'Behold the lilies how they grow, they toil not, neither do they spin, yet Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these.' If, then, the splendour of a royal court are as nothing to those natural glories which God, in the fields, by the rivers, and on the mountain side, has made accessible to the meanest and poorest of us, and which we may drink in at every sense, what is there in the crowded city, or the populous centre of wealth and civilization, that we should really prefer to the enamelled prairie, the echoing forest, the contemplative waterfall, or the fertile valley? What are not the thousand moral temptations and spiritual hazards to which a family of sons is exposed in the gay vice, the unthinking extravagance, the reckless dissipation of European cities? How many prosperous parents have their whole happiness poisoned by the misconduct or spendthrift thoughtlessness of pleasure-hunting boys; whose hearts, perhaps in the right place, and whose principles, sound

and true at bottom, have their heads and fancy turned and captivated by the follies of the hour, and the 'pleasant sins' of metropolitan gaiety! In the Bush, on the prairie, on the colonial farm, if the attraction be less, the safety is the greater. The hot blood of youth sobers down in the gallop over the plain, or falls to its healthy temperature as he fells the forest king."

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Less Care and Toil.—Another great social advantage of emigration is, that it often frees us from a life of care. It almost ever, for a time, gives us more work of hands to do; but it almost ever gives us a life where there is far less of care, far less of anxiety, far less of ceaseless attention to business. Here, many a man's career on earth is little other than one long life-race, with millions of eager rivals, picking up £ *s.* *d.* strewn scantily along the course. Slave of the lamp "till tired he sleeps and life's poor play is o'er," he toils through his days at a money mill, crushing specks of gold from tons of quartz. His bow is ever bent; his book of life, the cash-book; his creed, work that ye don't starve, six days must thou labour and do hard work, and the seventh count thy gains. Existence has rolled by before he has thought of happiness; the faculty of enjoyment has passed away before he has leisure to enjoy; life is lost in the struggle to live. Sixty years and a day has he sought the idol gold, and missed it—or found it, looked on it, and died.

If inquests were held here on every man who died an unnatural death, how many verdicts would run, "Killed by care!"

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Retrenchment and Reform.—Emigration, too, enables us to do what we cannot do here, namely—to take in sail, brace up, retrench, and reform. Oracular people, who having drawn a prize in the lottery of life think that there are no blanks, are fond of remarking that if we would work as hard and spend as little in the old land as we shall in the new, we might *do* as well in the old land as we shall in the new. As to the "working," I venture to reverse the proposition, to say that half the work, half the toil of mind and body, half the expenditure of the vital principle, which we must put forth in the old land, if we would not starve, would produce us treble the old-

land return if put forth in the new. As to the "*spending*," they are right—doubtless if we had wings we could fly, but we have no wings. Such is the paradoxical character of our social system, such the tyranny of our priests and idols, that often we *cannot* lower sail and retrench. We must sail with the tide and do as others do, in order that we may not do worse than others do; we must often *spend* an income, in order that we may *earn* an income. The yearly expenditure of many a family should be added up in three columns—rent and taxes—expenses of living—expenses of "keeping up appearances." We spend 300*l.* a year on our *own* wants, and 300*l.* a year on the wants of *society*. Society travels first class, and demands gold lace, spangles, plumes, and a flunkey. If Brown having spent 300*l.* a year for society, for some years, refuse to do so any longer—if he retrench, sell the brougham, saddle his own horse, dig his own acre, dine at two, put Mrs. B. in the kitchen for an hour or two, and Rose Ada in the dairy, what would shopkeepers, society, and the Hon. Deuceace often say and do to Brown? Say that Brown had fallen from his high estate—that Brown was no longer to be trusted—that Brown was going down hill to Coventry very fast—and they would lend him a farewell kick to accelerate his descent. Strange to say, no one points to Brown as a *model of economy*—every one points at him as a *beacon of extravagance*, and the social rats leave what seems to them a sinking ship.

But let Brown carry out this retrenchment and reform in *New Zealand*, and what would society and the Hon. Deuceace say to him *there?*—say, "Welcome Brown, you come to do what we came to do, and are all the better for having done, and here's a hand to help you on."

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QUALIFICATIONS AND QUALIFYING FOR EMIGRATION.—If asked to name the two most money-making qualities an emigrant could possess, or all the qualities he need possess, save common honesty and industry, I should say, *pluck and patience*. It is not so much the dashing, clever, brilliant man, as the brave, stedfast, and hopeful man, who climbs quickest in a colony. Great talents are good in a colony, and great talents go to a colony;

but they are not, *relatively*, so useful to a man as they are in England. All the industrial occupations and pursuits of the young land are conducted in so simple, so primitive, a manner, that any man may conduct them with success. In the professions, in commercial pursuits, in all the common businesses of life in England, any man, however clever, competent, and persevering he may be, may have some rival who has had the tact to make clients and customers believe that he is *more* clever, competent, and persevering, and who, thus, carries off the loaves and fishes. But there are few or no pursuits in the broad fields of a young colony where a man will lose ground because of the presence of any better man than himself; and though fools don't emigrate because they have not sense enough, fools, steady fools, unquestionably *might* emigrate and do well.

This easiness and simplicity of all colonial pursuits renders a special training for colonial pursuits unnecessary. In a new country, we say any man *can* do anything, and we see that every man *does* do many things. That venerable aphorism of our schools, "Ne sutor ultra crepidam," might be a golden maxim in the old world—it rules none but veritable cobblers in a colony. Life, in a colony, is not a narrow, circumscribed, routine life closely hedged in, and trimly squared, by tyrant form and custom. In a colony, there is none of that minute, microscopical subdivision of labour under which one man blows one note, and a pin passes through a hundred hands. In a colony, the development of our individual humanity is *not* altogether arrested by the progress of the social principle; there, our claws are *not* pared, and each of us *is* something more than the revolving but stationary wheel of a machine; and there, with equal certainty and success, the soldier converts his sword into a ploughshare, the sailor steers a harrow, the merchant turns farmer, the farmer merchant, the lawyer acquires an estate by deed of axe, not by deed of pen, the doctor, tossing "physic to the dogs," thrives better on fine wool than erst on fine ladies, and the fair Arachne of crochet may hope to become both useful and ornamental on the milking and the music stool.

Indeed, in the commonest and most profitable pursuit of all in New Zealand—the purchase of wild land and the gradual creation of a little landed estate by means of the plough and fleece—

many practical colonists, so far from deeming it necessary that the emigrant should have had any home training or old-world experience of farming, contend that the active professional or town-bred man succeeds better, that is, makes quicker first progress, than the home-bred farmer. They assert that the old-world farmer, trained up to a highly artificial old-world system, a man of a class remarkable for prejudice and the slow reception of new ideas, has a great deal to *unlearn* when he lands in the colony, and that he will lose time in clinging to many old-world fashions which are utterly unsuited to the new life in the new land. Whereas soldier, sailor, merchant, parson, lawyer, doctor, having nothing to *unlearn*, no prejudices to disgorge, his mind being the "tabula rasa," will at once adopt that simple new-world practice which he sees so successful on the estate of his neighbour. However, be this as it may, there can be no question that in creating a little landed estate, in New Zealand, a man who has never seen a plough does, as the rule, succeed just as well as the man brought up at the plough-tail.

This simplicity of the personal qualifications for emigration does away with the necessity for personally qualifying. A bachelor emigrant, or a son going out as pioneer for his family, leaning to pastoral pursuits, and deeming it prudent to get a little experience before commencing for himself, will occasionally go to Cumberland, or some Scotch sheep country, and take a year with a sheep farmer. He would do far better to sail at once, master some popular shilling handbook on the sheep, on the voyage, and give some good colonist 100*l.* for a year's board and lodging, and a year's training in the mode of sheep-farming actually practised in the colony. Again, I have known ambitious agricultural emigrants prepare themselves by taking a course of instruction at the agricultural college, or on some crack farm in Norfolk or the Lothians. A perusal of the "Book of the Farm" on the voyage, and the use of their eyes and ears for a month in the colony, would have qualified them better. They have learnt Liebig, agricultural chemistry, and the scientific nomenclature and classification of soils; and, doubtless, with a good balance at the banker's, could create another Tiptree from another waste, and force up 60 bushels an acre, at a cost of 11*s.* 6½*d.* per bushel. But, in New Zealand, soil and climate

are Mechi and Liebig, and half the costly college lore is worse than useless.

Emigration works are extant, too, wherein the author, determined that his hero shall be well armed for the fight, counsels him to go with anvil, saw, and adze, lathe, last and goose; to be at once smith, carpenter, and cooper, turner, cobbler, and tailor. Now, I do not at all undervalue emigrant mechanical accomplishments; I worked as a carpenter for a year before I went to New Zealand, and attained so fair a mastery of the art that I flatter myself I could turn out a pretty good sash or panel door even now that my hands have become soft again; but I cannot counsel any young New Zealand emigrant to attempt to make himself this jack-of-all-trades man, this master of none. In the first place, half his smattering of mechanical knowledge would not be more useful to him than Hebrew; and an emigrant who devoted a month to each of the above pursuits might well make shoe that would lame a horse, door that would not shut, boot like a bucket, coat that would scare a crow, and tub that would not stand.

In short, the rule in this question of qualifying for emigration should be this:—When a family has deliberately decided on going to New Zealand, and no pecuniary or private matters intervene to delay their departure, they should wait for nothing, but pack up and sail by the first good ship bound to the particular port they wish to be landed at; for though the little practical knowledge of certain useful arts which they might acquire by waiting six months would be valuable to them, it would not generally be *so* valuable to them as the time and money they would spend in acquiring it. But when, owing to private affairs, a family *cannot* get away for a few months after they have decided on emigrating, father and son might take a week at ploughing, and learn the easiness of holding and setting a plough, and then buy the few tools named in the remarks on outfit, turn an outhouse into a shop, and get some handy journeyman carpenter to come for an hour or two in the evening to teach them the use of saw and plane, and to help them to make good packing-cases, the outfit cabin drawers, an oak tool chest, one or two loose wheel-barrows, and half a dozen doors and windows for the new house. If there be another son, he might pay 5*l.* or 10*l.* for two or three months' amateur apprenticeship

to some intelligent smith, turner, wheelwright, or cabinet-maker, as his taste might dictate; and Mrs. Brown and Rose Ada might ask some little farmer's wife to give them a lesson or two in dairy-work and in ham and bacon curing.

There is *one* sort of "qualifying," though, to which I would earnestly call the attention of my Bachelor Brotherhood. A colonial proverb runs, "Single men *may* succeed, married men *must*;" and any single gentlemen, having a little money, and emigrating to get a little more, should stop a week, ride round the neighbourhood, Cœlebs in search of a wife, and seek to add to his outfit something far prettier and more fruitful than patent plough, thrashing mill, or thorough-bred. If long a Benedick, and jokers' joke, let him say with Beatrice's bargain, "When I swore to die a Bachelor I never thought to have lived to"—emigrate; and if he draw a prize (and ladies say there are no blanks) he may chance to find the New Zealand valley a golden spot wherein he can exclaim, "Hic ipso tecum consumere ævo"—which, for the edification of maidens who have lost their Latin, we may freely translate into "Here, with thee (and a ripe cigar) I could wear away even life itself."

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Evils of Emigration Delay.—One of the most fatal errors of emigrants is the error of delay. Thousands, sensible of the advantages of emigration, linger on in the old country from year to year, sink from bad to worse, and then, when they have nothing left to emigrate with, emigrate as a last resource. Now we cannot expect, and assuredly do not desire, that those who are in what they regard as safe and prosperous circumstances should be induced to emigrate, and thus depart from the safe old maxim of "leaving well alone." But how often do those who have long been going down hill, and who have long looked to emigration, still go on losing time and money, still go on clinging to ruin and hoping against hope for better times, still go on feebly fighting a losing fight, still go on shivering on the brink, delaying to plunge and swim to what they know to be a safer shore, until when they *do* go, they reach the new land in that forlornest of forlorn estates, paupers in purse, but not paupers in habits and hands!

A little capital will go a long way in New Zealand, and, well

handled, will do a great deal; but *some* capital is absolutely necessary, even in New Zealand, and there is such a thing as going with too little. Half the discomforts and "roughings" of emigration, half the disheartening difficulties, and early struggles of many an emigrant, do not arise because such things are inseparable from emigration, but because the emigrant has delayed his emigration until he has landed all but bankrupt in purse. And if the reader knew as much on this point as I know, his wonder would not be that the emigrant sometimes fails to climb the hill, but that half as many climb the hill and succeed as *do* climb the hill and succeed. When a middle-class family, of the common character and composition, have lingered on here until they have lost almost their last shilling, and have but sufficient left to pay the passage money, they had better *remain* here—their emigration day is past. Here, I am aware I differ in opinion from many colonists—but this *is* my opinion, and I frankly avow it.

It is no exaggeration to say that a qualified family landing in New Zealand, with their 1000*l.* or so, in 1861, might place themselves in easy and independent circumstances by 1866—a similar family emigrating in 1866, with half this capital, might not attain an equal position by 1876. It is obviously impossible to name that particular era, or turning point, when it becomes more prudent for us to go than to stay; but, as a general rule, we may certainly say that when our affairs have reached such a point in the downward state that emigration has once seriously suggested itself the sooner we emigrate the better.

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Those who Emigrate, but who would do better to stay at Home.—Such a class of emigrants undoubtedly exists; but fortunately it is a small one. It is composed of four varieties: the "Too-lates," the "De Smythes," the "Grumblers," and the "Fast Gents." The first, are the Laggards, just described. The second, are the fastidiously genteel people of feeble intellect; and the silver fork and snob order: people who would prefer a crust and thin claret in the drawing-room, to roast beef and a pot of ale in the kitchen; people who regard the flunkey as an institution, and who, like the Oxford man, would not save you from

drowning, because you had not been "*introduced.*" Mr. and Mrs. de Smythe shrivel up before the great heartiness and manly simplicity of emigration, and are as much out of place in a colony as a dancing dog in a fox-hunt.*

What, colonially, are called Grumblers, or "Dismal Dummies," constitute the third order of Unfit Emigrants. When wheat or wool falls, or when trade is less brisk than usual, farmers and traders grumble in New Zealand just as they do in England. Indeed, a certain amount of grumbling seems essential to human felicity; and it would be a most arbitrary interference with the liberty of the subject to interdict any man from grumbling at his pleasure in New Zealand. But the emigrant grumbler, is the man or woman who grumbles *always*. These unfortunates generally give the colonial community to understand that they never wished to emigrate—that they were doing well at home, and were likely to do better; and that it was their friends who over persuaded, nay, almost forced, them to emigrate. A considerable portion of their daily occupation and amusement is found in abusing the colony, in denouncing their neighbours, in bemoaning their lot. Our towns are villages; our streets are unpaved; there is neither gas nor water-cart; the sun is too briliant, the sky too blue, the trees too large, the meat too fat, the house not so large as the house they lived in when they kept three servants and visited a family who knew a baronet; *and they only wish they were back.* This is a wish in which colonists sincerely join; for such unfortunates prove a grievous bore and nuisance to the little colonial community they have joined, and they really do injury to a colony by invariably writing about it in the "dismal-dummy," or sackcloth-and-ashes strain.

Now the male or female "Dismal" is generally some one who has emigrated *reluctantly*, some one who has been a sort of *pressed* emigrant. I would therefore caution any ladies or gentlemen who not willing, nay *anxious*, to emigrate, to stay at home—they will get no sympathy in a colony, and they will

* One Mrs. de Smythe, who in an evil hour went to New Zealand, had the misfortune to be a Staff Officer's daughter; and as there happened, then, to be no other Staff Officers' ladies in the place, she voted the society low, and had to be conducted home again, with ruffled plumes, at a great expense.

probably come to grief; and I would further caution all friends and advisers of such persons never to press them to emigrate, but rather to press them to stay at home, and bear the ills they have than fly to those they know not of.

The fourth variety of the unfit emigrant is the young "Gent" of the slow-fast order, the ne'er-do-well. The Town type of this variety is sketched in a sentence. He is a youth who has grown fast and gone early to seed; he is known to tailors, and has heard of County Courts; he illustrates casinos, and is loud at the Cider-cellars and the Pic; he haunts night billiard-tables with other small birds of prey, and knows a thing or two at cards; he is far above work, and far beneath it, and, like the lazy dog, leans against the wall to bark. One would scarcely imagine that such a "gent" would ever go to a colony—he does not *go*, he is *sent*. When he has exhausted each miserable shift which green credulity offers to his tribe, when fairly stumped and tractable, his friends count him down 100*l*., ship him off to Australia, Africa, or New Zealand, and hope they are quit of him. But no, like a bad bill, he comes back, colonially noted and protested too, and at considerable expense to those who issued him. The army, hotel-touting, billiard-marking, bus-driving, bill-sticking, street-singing, many industrial pursuits are open to gentlemen of this stamp in old-world cities—none are open to them in a young colony; and if they will be warned, they and the other three varieties of "unfit emigrants" will cling to home, and leave bad alone for fear of worse.

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THOSE WHO WOULD LIKE TO EMIGRATE, AND WHO WOULD EMIGRATE SUCCESSFULLY, BUT WHO DO NOT EMIGRATE.—It is, I think, impossible to have an extensive circle of acquaintance in the mother country, and to mix freely in society, without coming in contact with many excellent people who have every *inducement* to emigrate, who are well *fitted* to emigrate, who would *like* to emigrate, yet who, nevertheless, do *not* emigrate—people, who, despite their better judgment, remain at home, battling against bad times and excessive competition, until when the prime of their days is over, when property has dwindled away, and when children want planting out, they awake some morning

to the fact, that judicious emigration to a good colony a few years earlier might have been their temporal salvation. They are placed in this paradoxical position, and restrained from emigrating, more or less, by certain bugbears which, with the reader's permission, we will briefly dissect, and which, however unsuccessfully, we will briefly attempt to dispel.

1. Dislike of publishing to their circle that their circumstances are such as to render emigration a prudent step. Opposition of acquaintances, and the fear of Mrs. Grundy.

2. Fears that their want of certain, assumed necessary, qualifications incapacitates them for successful emigration.

3. Natural feelings of repugnance at leaving home and friends.

4. The strangeness and seeming uncertainty of the new future—fears of not doing well—and the remoteness of the scene.

5. The assumed roughness and privations of the new life.

6. Assumed social deficiencies: absence of good society, of amusements and means of education, &c.

1. Surely this is a silly scruple. If, on due consideration, a family have arrived at the conviction that emigration would be their true "elixir-vitæ" draught, why not take it? Probably three-fourths of their true friends, and of those more sensible acquaintances whose opinion they ought to value, would commend their resolution. As to the rest, as to their fair-weather visitors, their morning callers, their club cronies, their dance partners, their tea-table gossips, "id genus omne," who and what are they, with their pribbles and their prabbles, to stand between me and what I conceive to be good for me? Brush them aside with the flies. If Major Joker, unattached, tell Captain Rook, over their cups, that that unfortunate devil Brown is off to cannibal New Zealand, where, some day surely, he will be devilled Brown, and eaten, why not applaud Bardolph's pun, and promise, when tailors trouble and when billiards fail, "an he will shave, live cleanly, and forswear sack," to make the gallant man major of a station and commander over ten thousand sheep. Bent on high designs, "bound to fresh fields and triumphs new," Mrs. B. and Rose Ada, like the lady in Comus, may pass scathless through the mowing ranks of the old women of either sex; and if their emigration impart any extra flavour to "Mrs. Grundy's" pekoe, let them remember that the "Grundy nuisance" is about to

cease for ever, and not begrudge the ancient hag the last enjoyment they afford her.

Half the sneering opposition we oft encounter, when we talk of emigrating, proceeds from no solicitude as to our welfare: many who jeer most at us well know that, if they did their duty, they would emigrate too: like us, they are standing on hollow ground, but they lack the pluck to seek a firmer shore—sinking, they would have us sink too. When clamour is rampant, then, and jests are rife, let Brown whistle and pack up; let him call to mind what Solomon said about braying a fool; and go forth strong in

> "The pride to rear an independent shed;
> And gives the lips he loves unbeggared bread."

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2. The remarks just made as to emigrationary qualifications will, I trust, tend to dispel this most unfounded fear. Any good emigrant, now going to New Zealand, willing to put his shoulder to the wheel, willing to learn and to do his best, will do well enough, and will find himself the right man in the right place.

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3. Natural Feelings of Repugnance at leaving Home, Friends, and Country.—What *is* "home?" Is it the particular four brick walls within which we happened to be born? If so, scarcely one of us ever lives at home. Is it the particular city, town, village, hamlet, or clachan, we happened to be born in? If so, such home is often changed by man half a dozen times in his life; as when he moves from Connaught to Cork, or from Cornwall to Cumberland, or from Scotland to Liverpool, or from Londonderry to London. Home, I take it, is that place where, for the time, a man sets up his house and household gods, where he has his wife and bairns and books; and if he carry these things with him, he carries his home with him, whether he emigrate from Nottingham to New Zealand, or from Nottingham to Northumberland: the Roman was right when he said, "Where I am well off, there is my country."

As to leaving friends, friends are of two sorts, *dear* friends and *dinner* friends—those who would lend us a ten-pound note, and those who would not. As to the hundred latter, they are gay, agreeable people, most sociable butterflies, who know the sunny

side of the peach, who sip your wine, shawl your wife, escort Rose Ada, and render you and society a thousand little services. But we may leave them and live. As to our half-dozen *dear* friends, if we could carry *them* with us, the movement would be a perfect one. Sometimes, if we try, we *can* carry one or two of them with us; when we cannot, we must e'en say good-bye for a bit, and see them by letter. When a man emigrates, he emigrates to secure certain substantial benefits for himself, his wife, and children—*these* are his nearest and dearest friends, and *these* always go with him. Moreover, he will make plenty of friends in New Zealand. The very fact of his having chosen that country in preference to any other makes him a popular man the moment he steps ashore. He is in no one's way there; he will push no one down the hill in climbing it himself; and he is received in a spirit of freemasonry by a community of his equals who, like him, have left the old Land to better their fortuues in the new.

As to leaving the Land of our birth, "Omne solum forti patria est"—but in going to New Zealand *do* we, virtually, leave the land of our birth any more than when we go to Jersey, to Scotland, to Ireland? New Zealand, rightly regarded, is an integral part of Great Britain—an immense sea-joined Devonshire. An Englishman going thither goes among his countrymen: he has, the same Queen, the same laws and customs, the same language, the same schools, the same churches, the same press, the same social institutions; and, save that he is in a country where trees are evergreen, and where there is no winter, no opera, no income tax, no paupers, no beggars, no cotton mills, he is, virtually, in a young England, a young Britain of the South.

Neither does he in any sense become less an Englishman, or an inferior sort of Englishman. National boasts; Cressy, Poictiers, Trafalgar, Waterloo, Inkerman, Shakspeare, Milton, Newton, Pope, Burns, belong as much to the Briton in New Zealand as to the Briton in Mid-Lothian or Middlesex. The New Zealand colonist has at once all the bright recollections of the England he has left, and all the bright prospects of the England he has reached: the past glories of the old Land, the dawning splendours of the new.

No degeneracy of race, either, no personal inferiority, attends emigration. Emigration is a career which calls for, and which

calls up, pluck, bottom, energy, enterprise, all the masculine virtues. The feeble-minded, the emasculate, the fastidious, the timid, do *not* emigrate; these, bow their necks to the yoke, ply the distaff, and spin wealth for the great at home. It is the strong and the bold who go forth to subdue the wilderness and conquer new lands; and the 80,000 colonists in New Zealand would probably comprise more men *naturally* fitted to rule the senate, conduct the press, sweep the seas, and "set the squadron in the tented field," than any promiscuously taken 80,000 of their countrymen in England.

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4. THE STRANGENESS AND SEEMING UNCERTAINTY OF THE NEW FUTURE. FEARS OF NOT DOING WELL. REMOTENESS OF THE SCENE.—Strangeness, here, is *novelty*, and novelty is generally pleasing. There is little or nothing radically much stranger in emigrating than in moving into a new house, or in dining at two instead of at six; and nothing in it to which any sensible man or woman would not become almost as soon reconciled and familiar.

As to the seeming *uncertainty* of the new future, save death and taxes, everything is uncertain. If we could *insure* every New Zealand emigrant a snug landed estate and a thousand a year, New Zealand emigrants might soon become so numerous as to have to re-emigrate to the Fejees. All we can say as to "uncertainty and fears of not doing well" is this—there is no uncertainty as to the fact that for many a year we have been doing badly enough in the old country; there is every appearance of certainty that if we remain in the old country we shall do still worse; and though every rule has its exceptions, though we may know a "De Smythe," or a "Grumbler," or a "Too-late Man," or a "Fast Gent," who has failed at emigration as he has failed at everything else, we know that for half a century emigration has saved, or substantially benefited, millions of people, and may reasonably expect that emigration will benefit us just as it has benefited those who have gone before us. As to *remoteness*, it is true that New Zealand is still more than 12,000 miles from England; but in these days we count distance not by miles, but by time. We may even now journey from Scotland to New Zealand almost as quickly as our forefathers

journeyed from Scotland to Cornwall; and, looking at the spirit of the age and the constant improvements making in ocean travelling, we may certainly, ere long, fairly expect to get from London to New Zealand, *viâ* Panama, in little more than a month—nay, even to see Manchester and Birmingham travellers visiting Australia and New Zealand twice a year for cash and orders, and to find health and pleasure trips taken across the smooth Pacific to the "Britain of the South," just as they are now taken to Madeira and the Mediterranean.* As to New Zealand being "out of the world," it is clear that a country which stands on the true highway from Europe to the southern gold-fields, which lies within a month's sail both of the South American cities and our Indian empire, which is close to Sydney and Melbourne—the London and Liverpool of Australia—and which (virtually) is almost as near Cornhill as Scotland was a century ago, is *not* out of the world. Nay, without glancing at Macaulay's mythical New Zealand traveller, who is to stand on the broken arch of London Bridge to sketch the ruins of St. Paul's, may we not venture to think that New Zealand may some day occupy a more dominant position in the world than parts of Europe, or even of the British Isles?

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5. ASSUMED ROUGHNESS AND PRIVATIONS OF THE NEW LIFE.—This is an objection which applies far more to the pioneer, tent-dwelling days of new Settlements than to such later, more advanced days as have now been reached in New Zealand; and

* The number of New Zealand colonists who are now found visiting the mother country on trips of pleasure or business should be sufficient, in itself, to dispel the old-fashioned idea of the vast *remoteness* of the place. These gentlemen appear to regard the overland journey to England, *viâ* Sydney, the Red Sea, and Southampton, as a mere summer jaunt: one has just left us who came over chiefly for the purpose of carrying back a selection of song-birds to enliven his antipodal domain; and another has lately arrived for the hunting season. Indeed, scarcely a week passes but what some New Zealand colonist will present himself before his English friends as little of the "Lion" as if he had returned only from a Lake excursion or a Highland walking tour. Among several gentlemen who have arrived recently in this easy manner, I may name the Hon. E. W. Stafford, Premier of New Zealand, Mr. Duppa, one of the early pioneer colonists; and Sir Charles Clifford, Speaker of our New Zealand House of Commons.

far more, as before observed, to the too-late, capital-exhausted emigrant than to the more prudent family who go in time.

Speaking of New Zealand as it is now, but asking the reader to recollect that a greater social change and advance takes place in a young rising colony like New Zealand in *five* years than takes place in any old-grown country like England in *five-and-twenty*, I think we shall describe all the "roughness of living," all the domestic privations and discomforts, to which a New Zealand emigrant family would now, temporarily, be exposed if we say this—they would not live, at first at least, in so fine or so well-furnished a house as the one they had left; but it would be a house as good as their neighbour's, would be pretty and comfortable, and would be *their own;* and their table would be quite as well, if not better supplied. They would have very much worse roads, and no public conveyances, and would have to walk and ride on horseback a great deal more; *and ladies would unquestionably have to do much more domestic work than fell to their lot in England.* Help may always be had for periodical washings and cleanings and great occasions; but female servants are scarce, and much addicted to marrying; and Mrs. Brown and Rose Ada would have to make many more loaves, pies, puddings, and beds than they ever made in Brown's establishment at Clapham Rise or Notting Hill. But it is to be recollected that owing to the cottage like character of the houses, and to the more simple style of living, the household work would be much lighter in the New Zealand establishment; and further, that though at Clapham, did the butcher catch Mrs. B. in the kitchen making a loaf, he would probably send in his bill and demand instant payment—and that though Ada's being detected there in making a bed might annihilate her matrimonial prospects for ever—no such deplorable results would ensue from the like deeds in New Zealand, where every lady makes herself useful as well as ornamental, and thus lives the longer and blooms the more. The house we build, ourselves, too, is ever a palace; and there is a vast difference between making a loaf or a bed for brothers or husbands, for love, and in making them for masters and mistresses for money.

6. ASSUMED SOCIAL DEFICIENCIES: ABSENCE OF GOOD SOCIETY, AND OF AMUSEMENTS, AND MEANS OF EDUCATION.—This is, or rather used to be, one of the commonest objections to emigration; but, unquestionably, as regards emigration to *New Zealand*, it is one of the most unfounded and unjust. Whatever may have been the faults and failings of that Wakefield system of colonisation on which New Zealand was founded, and they are neither few nor light, the system had this merit—it drew to New Zealand a much higher class of emigrants than had ever left the mother country since the Cavalier Settlements of Delaware and Virginia were planted; and selected its free and assisted passage emigrants so carefully that almost every mechanic and labourer carried to New Zealand has been a *picked* man.

Petres, Staffords, Molesworths, Cliffords, Dillons, Tancreds, Tollemaches, Congreves, Wortleys, Welds, Vavasours, Cholmondeleys, scions of many old English families, have settled in New Zealand. A considerable portion of the Canterbury colonists are such people as you meet at fat rectors' tables and good country-houses. Retired professional men turned agriculturists; "le vieux moustache" of the Line or Indian service grown cunning in wool; quiet country families with broods of sons and daughters; and enterprising younger sons—all living on and creating their little estates—together with a fair sprinkling of black coats, blue coats, scarlet coats, government officials, and the mercantile classes, constitute full half the entire population of the colony. Indeed, I think no stranger would now visit New Zealand without being agreeably surprised at the high but homely tone of society, and forcibly struck with the steady industrious character of all orders of the young community; and for friendliness of feeling, pleasantness of intercourse, intellectual and moral endowments, I fancy the social circles of New Zealand would generally be found quite equal to anything which the emigrant family had left in England. Serious crime, too, is all but non-existent; while the "republican licence" so offensive to the Englishman in America, and the "convict taint," which still reveals itself through a large portion of Australia, are alike unknown.

New Zealand, moreover, is not a country of pigsties and palaces, of paupers and millionaires, and twenty intermediate

castes—it is a country of cottages, large and small, and of two classes of society—an independent middle class and an independent labouring class. In New Zealand, therefore, we find none of those inequalities in society, none of those scrupulous "ko-toeings," ceremonies, and distinctions which poison half our social enjoyments at home. In New Zealand, no one cuts us because we don't keep a carriage, for there, as before observed, we all keep our carriages; we don't turn grey from anxiety to get out of this "set" or to get into that "set," for there is but one set, and we are in and of it—we are all county families, we all go to Almack's, we are all of the "haute volée," we all go to Court.

It should be remembered, too, that the goodness of society in emigration countries like New Zealand, good as it may be, is improving. People are now beginning to ask themselves very frequently whether emigration really *be* only a resource for paupers, whether it be not a career for a gentleman quite as honourable as any profession, and far more *profitable;* and we may now meet a class of families in emigrant vessels who, ten years ago, would almost have shuddered had an emigrant come between "the wind and their nobility."

In regard to sports and pleasures, such things as public amusements, sights, theatres, and raree-shows, are, of course, few and far between; but these things are needed rather for blasé loungers in old-world cities, than for active colonists in a colony. A family occupied on their own acres, creating an estate which they are to enjoy, are every day performing in a varied theatre of real life, which exceeds in interest, and far exceeds in profit, the mimic play. Every Settlement, however, has its annual anniversary sports, its races, race-balls, flower-shows, regattas, concerts, lectures, and occasional public festivities; and there are quite as many public amusements as colonists need or can enjoy.

Frigid dinner-parties, where heavy men in mourning meet in stolid gravity to devour more than they can digest, and to muddle themselves with curious sherries and compounded ports, are calamities from which at present we are happily free. But there is a great deal of homely hospitality, and friendly informal "fortune-du-pôt" visiting among us; and social meetings and

merrymakings, such as harvest-homes, fêtes-champêtres, tea and dance parties, gipsy parties, kiss and pic-nic parties, &c., &c., follow each other in quick succession.

In fact, nothing can be more preposterously absurd than to picture the life of the New Zealand colonist, of the present day, as one dull round of dreary toil, without a gleam of sunny pleasure—as all chop, chop, dig, dig, for the men; all wash, wash, mend, mend, for the women. Why should it be so? It is quite true that the colonist must work; but it is equally true that a comparatively moderate amount of work will give him plenty and to spare. Now, he who has this is just the man who can afford to laugh and enjoy himself a little; and it is frequently remarked, and with great truth, that colonists, as compared to old country folk, are a very merry set of people. The honest man who creeps along the London streets under the burden of a large family and the income-tax, whose life is one continued struggle against the fierce competition of his neighbours, whose to-day closes in anxiety, and whose to-morrow dawns without hope, does not laugh much, and would almost as soon commit petty larceny as attempt a joke. But, transplant him to laughing plenty in Zealandia, or in some other good colony, and he will joke fast enough; or may even grow "jolly" and become a Mark Tapley.

Let intending emigrants remember, then, especially the younger portion of them, that if they will only work, they certainly may also play; and that the sports and pastimes, the social pleasures and amusements of their fatherland, will still be theirs in New Zealand—a little shorn, may be, of the polished lacquer of high refinement, but gaining in hearty homeliness and honest sincerity.

With respect to religious and educational institutions in New Zealand there is little to desire. In the north, an excellent college, on a scale that would do credit to a colony fifty years older than New Zealand, has been founded by Bishop Dr. Selwyn. Churches of almost every denomination, grammar schools, academies, and seminaries, are found in every chief settlement; and the means of education in New Zealand are probably quite equal to those of many country towns and rural

districts in England.* Where, however, there is a large family of young children, and where the means of the emigrant would permit of such a profitable addition to his forces, I should recommend his taking out a governess—a young lady who, vowing to remain in "maiden meditation fancy free," for at least a year, would slap the children, help the mistress in the kitchen and in the nursery, and make herself generally useful, striking, and agreeable; for though our public schools are pretty good, our roads to learning are by no means royal, and the small day scholar is occasionally ingulphed in the deep mud rut.

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RETIRED GENTEEL FAMILIES.—No class has stronger reasons for emigrating, none would be more benefited by emigrating, than that large class of people known among us as the "Retired Genteel Families." A class composed for the most part of younger sons who have married on small patrimonies, professional men who have abandoned professions, officers retired from the various services, and the like, who, with capitals of from 2000*l.* to 5000*l.*, have either congregated in little troops in cheap continental towns and the Channel Isles, or isolated themselves in quiet village nooks, to eke out their slender means and to vegetate through life in genteel poverty and precarious independence.

Families of this order do not embrace this cold unfruitful life because they like it, but because they are driven to it: poverty is the unstatutable offence of modern conventionalism, and has transplanted them to holes and corners where poverty is the common lot. Our imperious social mandate forbids such people to attempt to improve their fortunes in any of those so-called ungenteel pursuits which their small capitals would enable them to embark in. No gentleman of this order could turn tradesman, and keep a shop: Brahmin born, Brahmin he

* A Norfolk clergyman, who took out his family of ten children to Canterbury the other day, gave me as one of his reasons for emigrating that he could get his children better educated in Canterbury than he could in the neighbourhood he was leaving

must live. The higher, large-capital-demanding pursuits are as effectually barred against him as if they did not exist. While assuming that society *would* allow him to embark in the one, or that capital would allow him to embark in the other, and that he became tradesman or brewer, corn merchant or miller, what would be his chances of success?—the competitive warfare which he, a novice, would have to wage in any line of business against adversaries trained up in all the wily trickeries of trade would result in his being routed from the field with loss of baggage and military chest.

With the reader's permission, we will take a fair average specimen of this class, glance at their common position and prospects here, and then glance at what would be their position and prospects in New Zealand. Let us suppose our retired genteel family to be father and mother, and two or three sons and daughters, having a funded 4000*l.* yielding them, if they have emigrated to the Continent and escaped income-tax, some 160*l.* a year, or nine shillings a day for seven people. To point out the true position of this family would be to point out the position of the sun at noon day. We all see it, and if we turn away from it, it will not be on account of its brilliancy: look at the father passing through life sucking his cane top on the Boulogne pier, a superior pot-house quidnunc—look at the daughters, shabby-smart, their looming future the pale governess, or celibacy in lodgings—look at the sons, acquiring tastes and habits no more fitting them for the pursuits they will descend to than the peacock's plumage fits him to battle with the eagle.

Now, led by their fortunate star, this family moves to New Zealand. Here, half their capital enables them to buy 1000 acres of wild land, to build themselves a comfortable cottage, and *gradually* to bring into cultivation and create a snug little estate (one-fourth arable, three-fourths pasture), the annual produce of which shall enable them to live in rude and easy plenty, to practise a hearty, if homely, hospitality, and to lay by some little annual profit. The remainder of their money, put out on good security at ten per cent., or invested in sheep (placed, say with some Runholder on "terms," or with one of the sons, on a stock station), produces them an annual 200*l.* to

300*l.*, which, year by year, may be added to their money capital, or profitably invested in more land; and in all human probability the estate which they have formed would, in a few years' time, be worth £50 or 100*l.* per cent. more than it had cost them to create.* They have a plenteous table, are well clothed, enjoy a fine climate and good health, and have society probably far better and more beneficial than that which they have left at St. Helier's, Calais, Brussels, or Boulogne. If the head of the family be ambitious of public life, Provincial Council and General Assembly are open to him; and though this may provoke a smile, I may perhaps assert that framing the laws and guiding the affairs of a young nation, like New

* *In the remarks at page* 244 *on the profits of farming and grazing and estate-creating in New Zealand, the following observations, embodying some very important facts, were unfortunately omitted.* After the mention of Cobbett, at page 247, the subject of farming and grazing profits should have concluded with the following passage:—"The reader, in calculating the profits of investing 500*l.* to 5000*l.* in New Zealand agricultural and grazing pursuits, must not confine his figures to the mere annual outgoings and incomings of the farm. An *English* farm is a rented manufactory for the wholesale production of food; and when the tenant has paid all the year's 'outgoings' (rent, taxes, tithes, labour), and received all the year's 'incomings' (crop and stock), the *difference* between the two is his annual profit or loss; and the year's calculation is complete. But in *New Zealand*, when the annual balance between 'outgoings' and 'incomings' has been struck, the year's calculation is *not* complete. There remains a further and a distinct item of profit to be put down on the credit side, namely, *the increased value of the young farm.* If, at fair market price, A buys a little estate in England, in 1861, and sells it again in 1866, he may get a little more or a little less than he gave for it—but, probably, he has not the means of buying this little estate in England, therefore the little he might get, or the little he might lose by it, is, to him, a mere matter of moonshine. But he *can*, and he *does*, buy it in *New Zealand;* and, if in 1861 he buys wild land near any of the rising young Settlements, and converts it into a farm, he may be able to sell it in 1866 for 50 or 100 per cent more than it has cost him; and he may do this by virtue of what may be termed a natural law almost as certain as gravitation—that is, *golden population has flowed in around him, and raised, possibly trebled, the value of every acre of cultivated land in his neighbourhood.* Many of the little estates, created a few years since in New Zealand, would now bring full 10*l.* or 15*l.* per acre in the market; and a farm on the Tamaki, about nine miles from Auckland, which lately came into the market, actually realized 30*l.* per acre. This, though, was a farm admirably situated, and was sold in small paddock lots. To define farming in *New Zealand*, therefore, as the 'profitable production of food' is not a *sufficient* definition; we must make a great addition to the sentence, and say it is 'the profitable production of food' *and* the 'creation of an estate by means of the plough and the fleece.'"

Zealand, is quite as interesting and probably quite as high a mission as that of tinkering up the institutions of any Old World State. When their time comes, sons and daughters marry among their equals, and have each that useful portion of cash-capital, or colonial experience, which enables them to commence a new step of rising in the world, and to look forward to their own children, vigorous natives of the soil, continuing the upward progress of the family now borne on by the rising fortunes of a young and growing land. It has been proved, over and over again, that no prior knowledge of agricultural or pastoral pursuits is necessary to enable a man, in a country like New Zealand, to create an estate by means of the plough and the fleece. Some of our most successful colonists are old military and naval officers, professional men, younger sons and the like—men who scarcely knew short horns from long horns, or beans from barley, before their arrival; and abundant proof has been afforded that, as regards knowledge of general business and knowledge of farming and grazing, any active educated man, of common sense, going to New Zealand, will find himself quite competent to invest his capital there, either *wholly* in land and in the creation of an estate, or *partly* in land, and partly in the *other* openings for the lucrative employment of capital which I have named. And always assuming that they accept their new career *heartily;* that the whole family, father, and mother, girls and boys, are all hearty volunteers; that they be all willing to laugh at first changes, small "roughings," domestic makeshifts and mishaps; that they be all willing to make themselves useful both with head and hands; to do as everybody else does, put on the merino and go into their own kitchen, pull off the coat and go into their own fields, there is no doubt that New Zealand emigration would very substantially improve their position.

I do not for a moment conceal—on the contrary I hope my readers will most distinctly, most impressively understand—that to realise this new estate in the new land, such a family as this would find their operations *retarded* by that dearth or dearness of labour inseparable from all young colonial communities; that they would have to do many things for themselves, both in field and house, which they never did before;

and that they would all have to put their shoulders, willingly, to the wheel. But it is to be remembered that the work they would have to do is work which their equals around them would be doing—work which, in three cases out of four, they would positively *like* to do, and work *derogatory* to no one to do. Indeed, as to the notion of "debasement" attendant on the idea of using our own hands in the active duties of a young colonial community, may we not ask ourselves, in all soberness, whether any man, Peer or Plebeian, is less honourably engaged ploughing his own fields in New Zealand than in lounging through the streets of some continental refuge for the destitute genteel, and dining at the dingy table-d'hôte with "pain à discretion"—whether his wife is less the lady, busied in the goodly kitchen of the rising farm, than sitting stiff, in twice-turned silk, in the faded parlour—whether the daughters are less elegant busied in butter-making, or rosy in the blooming garden, than dawdling over some protracted crochet monster or hurdygurdy harp—whether the sons are less likely to grow into honourable and useful men because high slang and low billiards have flown before the healthy activities of the stock station and the harvest field?

New Zealand colonists, as before observed, are now frequently visiting England—some on public missions, some to escort back parties of friends, some for pleasure, some for business, some for racing stock, or rams of high descent, some, it seems, most gallantly, for wives. We occasionally meet each other; and among many little social anomalies which strike us *soi-disant* "Britons of the South," when we pay a visit to our mother country, none I think strikes us more than the spectacle of so many families, whose type I have here attempted to describe, being content to dawdle away life in a sort of genteel and languid "pauperdom" at home, when if they would cast off tinsel and gewgaw, smother "Mrs. Grundy," bring out the latent steel that is in them, and carry strong and willing arms and a 1000*l.* or 2000*l.* to New Zealand, they might lead so *different* a life—a ruder, robuster, more primeval, less polished life, no doubt, but surely a more active, a more manly, a more pleasant, a more *profitable* life.

Here, however, we ought perhaps to recollect that until

within the last four or five years our public affairs have been in such a troubled state that it is only lately that the country has become the tempting emigration field which we now esteem it to be.* Again, the advantages which New Zealand offers to families of this class are really so great that the bare enumeration of them might well excite suspicion that the statement could not be substantially true—that there were certain drawbacks, certain "per-contra" items, which had not been put in the account; and, further, we ought perhaps to bear in mind that for half a century it has been the *habit* of such families as these to struggle on through life in the practice of a poor profession, or to retire on little incomes, to hang on the skirts of genteel society, and to trust to good luck to prevent their children from sinking to some lower estate—and *habit*, we are told, is stronger than nature.

However, indications are not wanting to show that members of this portion of our home community are beginning to awake to the advantages of transplanting their families to some more roomy land. I have myself lately been brought into communication with persons of this class, who have carried to New Zealand capitals of from 5000*l.* to 8000*l.*; and as one of these families often draws over another, I now look forward to the day when many a struggling professional man, many a retired officer, Jersey resident, invalid emigrant to Madeira or the Mediterranean, and income-tax-escaping emigrant to Brussels and Boulogne, will turn his steps to a country where the climate is one of the best in the world—where society and social institutions leave little to be desired—where there are no taxes, tithes, poor's rates, or paupers—where the cost of living is not greater than in England—where the interest of money, on excellent securities, is full ten per cent.—and where good agricultural and pastoral wild land may, in these early days at least, be purchased at from ten to twenty shillings per acre.

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Professional Men.—Families of ill-paid, struggling professional men could now do in New Zealand precisely what the

* I am, here, confining myself to the South Island. See concluding remarks of the Appendix.

"retired genteel family" class could do; and such families have, I fear, quite as much substantial cause for betaking themselves to some newer and more roomy land. The remarks made in a preceding page, show that the professions are at least no hindrance to starting in any fresh career in New Zealand; while the following extract, taken, I think, from an emigration article of the *Times*, pictures a state of things far too true and real.

"Here industry seeks employment, talent occupation, and capital investment. There are—explain it how you will, or propose to remedy it as you choose—there are at present *too many* of us in this country. It is not only that there are too many bricklayers, carpenters, wheelwrights, smiths, and weavers, but too many lawyers, doctors, half-pay officers, and small capitalists—in short, too many men living on a bare subsistence, without the prospect of leaving the same to their children. These people are, in some respects, worse off than parish paupers. The latter can sink no lower than they have sunk—nay, they may rise higher. Their children, at the worst, take their degradation by inheritance, and may rid themselves of it. But what is, too frequently, the prospect of the professional man who, by incessant labour, contrives to eke out a subsistence for a large family? If he dies, what is to become of them? If he leaves nothing, they must sink into pauperism. If he leaves a little, are they much better off? Take the case of a man who leaves a fortune of 4000*l.* between five or six children. What does this amount to? To a costly and, perhaps, barren education. The sons go out as clerks, private tutors, or curates. The daughters fade into governesses in 'genteel families' at Tooting or Blackheath. We need not enlarge upon either situation. *Quis non Eurysthea durum novit?* Who does not know the struggles of indigent and educated gentility, of struggling mediocrity and starving refinement?

"The middle classes—nay, the 'comfortable' members of the middle classes, are quite as much interested in emigration as those who are by a misplaced emphasis called 'the working classes.' Every man who is bringing up his children to any craft is interested in finding them a field of work more ample

than can be found at home. Every man who will leave a small fortune to his children is interested in finding for them a more rich and remunerating investment than capital can acquire in a country where profits are compressed by the competition of money to their *minimum*.

"Not in one grade or class, but in all, may be found men and women who hide the realities of an irksome indigence beneath the semblance of a coveted content, and who increase the burden of a dependence which they cannot relieve by the weight of a pride which they cannot control. It is not only in the dark alleys and fetid passages in which mechanic drudgery reposes from its daily task—it is not in the narrow and noisome lanes which skirt the suburbs of a manufacturing town—it is not in these alone that men eat the bitter bread of disappointment and distress. There is other labour than that of the spade, the plough, and the loom, which yearns for the employment which it cannot get here; there is other poverty than that of the Dorsetshire labourer, or the Lancashire operative, which might deserve the mercies of a workhouse. We omit to name the long list of those who have been ruined by profligacy or impoverished by prodigality. The spendthrift and the libertine claim neither the assistance of the State nor the sympathies of society. But there are others who without the sin have suffered the punishment of the thoughtless. There are countless numbers of men, whose fault is the unconscious misdirection of talent and the unadvised misapplication of capital—who have brought to the common mart of human traffic productions too costly or acquirements too ordinary for the necessities of daily life—and who retire with withered hopes and seared hearts from a premature struggle with fortune. London could tell of hundreds of needy adventurers, ferreting every nook and cranny of possible occupation—taking refuge from the persecutions of starved but stubborn pride in every euphemism imaginable—ignoring the habits of early youth and the impressions of early education in the most obnoxious pursuits and the most unseemly toil:—of artists whose easel rots in the obscurity of passive discontent; of scholars whose lore has been barren of profit, and fertile of discomfort:—of lawyers and doctors whose science rusts in the poor garret or the squalid chamber—in a word, of men of

education, acquirements, and capacity, whose means have been exhausted in preparing them for an arena which they are doomed to quit in the first agonies of a premature failure.

"These men are to be pitied. It goes to the heart to see a man of refinement and taste pining on less than a pauper's daily food. It is a bitter sight to witness the repining discontent or the sullen magnanimity of those who, brought up as gentlemen, crave the wages and the work of office-sweepers and errand-porters. Yet of such is London full. What is common in the metropolis is not rare in the provinces. Other cities exhibit in their different proportions the same anomalies of society and the same asperities of fortune. There is in the British empire an enormous aggregate of unemployed capabilities and unprofitable skill."

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FAMILIES TRAINING SONS FOR PROFESSIONS. — How often do we see a struggling, middle-class family sacrificing or curtailing their own modest pleasures, pinching, saving, scraping, to spare the means of putting one son into a profession? The perfect training and education of this son for any of the professions will, I apprehend, cost from 1000*l.* to 2000*l.*—well handled, literally a fortune in New Zealand—will it be a fortune in the profession? Of the thousand and one young men who every year enter the serried ranks of church, army, navy, civil service, law, medicine, how many help themselves on, and help their families on, and how many fail to do either? Now that Crimean disasters, and the blunders of diplomacy and civil service, are tending to break up the old system of patronage, to promote merit rather than rank, to put the best man in the best place, it seems to be thought that the professions will offer a better career than they have done; and in one sense they will —*but there will be no more prizes in the professions and no fewer blanks:* the hundreds of candidates will still continue to draw the one, the thousands to draw the other; and the only difference will be that A may now win the prize instead of B.

Would it not be wise policy on the part of such a family, then, to give their "hope and prop," a nobler, a richer, and a far more certain career, than arms, arts, law, civil service, physic or

divinity? Would it not be better to send him to New Zealand, with good letters of introduction, and place him with some good colonist at 100*l.* a year, as their pioneer herald laying the foundation of a better fortune for them all? If we could see the "balance sheets" of thousands who entered the professions ten years ago, I fancy that the answer to our question would be a most emphatic affirmative. Are there not hundreds of clever young men, gray in the law, who scarce make enough by law to pay for wig and gown; hundreds of young surgeons, who, for all they get, had better be barber surgeons, and add shaving to bleeding; hundreds of meek curates in rusty black, who preach the evils of wealth, and exemplify the evils of poverty, on a hundred a year with six children? And with facts like *these* patent to us all, is there really much difference in the sanity of the act, whether a family now pitch 1500*l.* into the sea, or spend it in training a son for law, church, or physic?

Our own goose is ever a swan, and we think swans are never plucked; but goose or swan, the professions frequently pluck our bird, and when they leave him his feathers, they often dole him but little grass and less corn.

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BACHELOR HEIRS.—Some writer asks "How many young men are there with capitals of from 1000*l.* to 3000*l.* who consume in the fatal inactivity of a lounging life, the youth, health, strength and money, which would be of incalculable service to them in a colony; with sisters sinking into governesses, brothers drooping into clerks; throwing away all the advantages of mental cultivation, barely living, and that without position, prospect or ambition! Why is it that so many of this class prefer stagnation amidst luxuries which they cannot share, to the creation of an independence which they might transmit to their children amid the plains and valleys of a new world?"

Why indeed!—a young man of this class, our "bachelor heir," has often no profession; and any good pursuit of trade might require more capital than he could command, or impose more plodding industry, confinement, and restraint, than he could bear. He passes his early days in a sort of "grub-and-butterfly" existence, consuming honey, too, much faster than he makes

it. You see him patent-boot pet of evening parties—glossy in moustache, tight in glove, correct in collar, accurate in stud, glorious in raiment and fine linen, cool to the ladies, imposing in gravity and the noli me tangere air, the "rose and the expectancy" of the fair room. You meet him at the Derby; or at the Frères Provencaux; or up the Dee, trouting; or in Norfolk, shooting; or, at the Casino, or at the Star and Garter, with "a little party in pink;" and ten years after—facilis descensus—he gives you your ticket on the Great-Western, seedy parent of five children and a baby, tenant of a brick-box, and master of 60*l.* a year! Or, if he has shunned marriage, and been *prudent*, you find him at fifty, the old beau in stays, forcibly feeble in whist and twaddle, a neuter-negative and blasè fribble, victim of dyspepsia and sport of Cyprians!

Could he have but read the future, he would early have asked Cousin Ada her opinion of matrimony and emigration, have taken her and her advice, a brother and a sister, and gone to some new Land—when, ten years after, we might have come on him in New Zealand, the jolly country squire, with brood of blooming children and lord of ten thousand sheep.

While the breeze lasts, while there is any wind in the sails, 't is seldom too late to tack and stand off shoals; and if such Bachelor-Heir thinks he has dissipated too much of his means to allow him a fair chance in the new career let him advertise in the *Times*, or the *Australian and New Zealand Gazette*, for an Emigration partner, join himself to some stout ally with a few hundreds, proceed to New Zealand, and turning estate-creating grazier, or pastoral cavalier, seek and find the "golden fleece."

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Invalid Emigrants.—I trust that no medical reader will imagine for a moment that I would defraud him of his professional prey of long-suffering valetudinarians by recommending all such to throw physic to the dogs, and to swallow New Zealand emigration as a sort of bolus specific. But there are many excellent families in Great Britain who are neither exactly emigrants nor exactly invalids, yet who verge on both: families, some of whose members cannot live comfortably in England, and who emigrate to Madeira, Nice, Naples, or some Mediterranean

Sanatorium, partly through climatic, partly through pecuniary considerations. One or two families of this class have already left Madeira, and several India, to settle in New Zealand. Indeed the general testimony as to the invalid merits of our climate confirmed by the remarkable tables, at page 70, seem to prove that as a Sanatorium for the majority of ills which flesh is heir to, New Zealand is actually the first place in the world. The voyage would, I apprehend, be found generally beneficial; and, once landed in the breezy Britain of the South, the invalid family might find that the Rev. Mr. Yates, in his excellent early work on the country, used no idle figure of speech when he said that "in New Zealand the sickly become healthy; the healthy robust; and the robust, fat."

But it is not only that New Zealand is said to be superior, as a *Sanatorium*, to many European resorts—it is superior as an *Exchequer*. It is not only that an invalid family might become more *robust* in New Zealand than in Nice or Madeira—they would become *richer*, some two or three times richer *positively*, and many times richer, *relatively*. If with 5000*l.* or 6000*l.* invested in the funds, they emigrate to the Mediterranean or Madeira, they have an income of only some 300*l.* a year. This sum, invested in sheep or in good landed securities in New Zealand, would produce them an income of at least 600*l.* a year; and a family with 600*l.* a year, in New Zealand, would occupy a social position which they might not command in England with 1200*l.* a year.

In short, it appears to me that families of this description either with small or larger capitals, might advantageously plant themselves down in various spots in New Zealand, invest three-fourths of their capital at 10*l.* per cent; buy fifty or one hundred acres in some nook or valley by the sea, put up a rustic cottage, keep cow and pony, tend the bees and flowers, fatten their own poultry, kill their own mutton, sit under their own vine and peach tree; have good society, beautiful scenery, and every domestic comfort; and really pass a very pleasant easy-active life, where dyspepsia, ennui, hypochondria, and many a demon of disease would find no lurking-place or resting-spot.

COMPETITION-CRUSHED TRADESMEN.—No class of people emigrate more freely or more successfully than families who, owing, perhaps, to a combination of bad debts, low profits, short custom, excessive competition, rates, rents, and taxes, have cut the shop, and made off to a new country *before* bankruptcy; and it appears to me that many a young married man, steady, active, industrious, and about to commence business, with a few hundred pounds, might well pause a moment ere he put up his name, and consider whether New Zealand would not afford him a fuller "till" than any he would be likely ever to find in his English shop.

Almost every nation affects some popular myth, tradition, or belief. The Chinese consider their emperor to be ex-officio brother of the moon, a tribe of ragged savages in Central Africa call themselves "first flower of the earth," Jonathan guesses he is free and can whip the British, Welshmen are Ancient Britons, and had a prince called Madoc, Prussia swears by philosophy and police.

We are a nation of shopkeepers, *our* myths are commercial: in 1861, we still quote "Whittington and his Cat," we still believe in "industrious apprentices," and our Sir Peter Laurie oracles still tell every young tradesman that he may become Lord Mayor of London! Of course he may—but then he mayn't—and prosaic practice and the Insolvent Courts unfortunately show that hundreds of young tradesmen, after a well-fought battle for the Civic Chair, only seat themselves in Whitecross Street.

But if the *pecuniary* results of small shopkeeping are bad, how about the *moral?* Do we not know that excessive competition, and the insane rage of the public for cheap things, has made a considerable portion of the retail trade of this good kingdom a lie and a sham?—and is the wholesale trade much better? is there not "something rotten in our whole state of trade?" Is it only that we have heard of the *Lancet*, of Dr. Hassell and of death in the pot, of rag prints, jewellers' shams, and publicans who should put up pestle and mortar for sign, and write "Drugs sold here'?" Do we not know that, now-a-days, a bale of Manchester goods is bought in many a foreign market much as we should buy a horse in Smithfield! Have we not *Banks*, managed by Ali Babi and the Forty Thieves, where each window

should be lettered "Cash and customers taken in here?" Do we not know that in many a retail trade a man, honest as he may be, if he would *live* by his trade, is virtually *obliged* to do things which he knows to be wrong—things which a public smitten with the mania for cheapness, lure him, nay, *compel* him to do?

Deliberately to go into, or to continue in, a business that keeps thousands poor and makes some dishonest, surely cannot be either a prudent or a commendable step. Would not many who keep shop, or who are about to keep shop, and angle for stray customers in troubled waters, do better to close windows, elude the tax-gatherer, and clear off to a young country like New Zealand while they have the few hundreds left wherewith to escape?

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TENANT FARMERS.—Small tenant farmers with large families, have very powerful reasons for emigrating, and are admirably fitted for New Zealand emigration.

Many a hard-working industrious man of this class, except that he has got enough to eat, is little better off in England than one of his day-labourers. What with rent, tithe, tax, and game-laws, the small farmer's share of the annual produce of his hired acres, is a very meagre share. He, of all men, is the man who eats his bread by the sweat of his brow; all but "adscriptus glebæ" he toils through life at the muck cart as his father did before him, and for what?—to get the rent for audit day. If his sons are lucky, they may look forward to doing the same—if unlucky, they will take country service, or the serjeant's gratuity and march to glory at a shilling a day; and his daughter may become the squire's menial and wed the groom, or the poor milliner girl with her pleasant path of city life. He farms his landlord's acres, and his landlord farms him, and the latter has the best estate. The sum which a hundred-acre tenant-farmer pays in *one year* for rent, tithe and tax, would buy and stock him a New Zealand freehold of 200 acres. In New Zealand he would be *Landlord;* his little capital would at once place him in the position of an independent yeoman, farming his own estate; and with common industry, with half the anxious toil and trouble of his old-world life, every member of his family, in a few years' time, might be married, settled, and provided for in a

manner which would have been a mere idle thing to have dreamt of while he was a mere toiling tenant-farmer in Kent, Norfolk, Perthshire, Tipperary, or Tyrone.

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THE COUNTER AND THE DESK.—As to the host of young men, the "waste surplus" of our lower middle-class families, whose chief solicitude is the ways and means of earning honest bread, what can we say? Is it not notorious that young fellows of this class, fairly educated, active, honourable, and intelligent as they may be, really seem to be of less value and consideration to society in England, than new mangles, patent ploughs, or prize pigs? Tastes differ, and it is well they do. But rather than be thus appraised, rather than grow up here cumberer of the earth with no better chance than that of finding myself some day behind the counter, with a bonnet on, measuring tape and bobbin to mincing misses—or of becoming the snubbed clerk with the pale wife and the seedy children, nailed to the dingy desk for life for 60*l.* a year, I would turn and breast the current; pull off my coat, take twelve months at some manly handicraft, and then, spite the dark warnings of Aunt Tabitha, spite the twaddle of my male friends in petticoats, I would secure cheap passage to Australia or New Zealand, and taking ten pounds, and my trade, common sense, common energy, common industry, for my arms, would trust to God and myself to achieve me a happy escape and a good deliverance from that grinding social serfdom, those effeminate chains, my born and certain lot in England.

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SPECIAL SETTLEMENTS. GROUP EMIGRATION.—Archbishop Whately, in his annotations on Lord Bacon's Essay on Plantations, says: "An ancient Greek colony was like what gardeners call a 'layer,' that is a portion of the parent tree, with stem, twigs and leaves, imbedded in fresh soil till it had taken root, and then severed. A modern colony is like a handful of twigs and leaves pulled off at random, and thrown into the earth to take their chance."

The great success of the Greek system of colonisation, and our experience of the successful planting of our early American

Colonies, or "Special Settlements" of Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New England, by bodies of Catholics, Quakers, and Puritans, might well, I think, have been expected to shape the course and direct the economy of much of our emigration of modern days. But the emigration of the five millions of people who have left the mother country during the last forty years, has been emphatically an emigration not of "layers," but of "twigs and leaves;" and when Edward Gibbon Wakefield organised the New Zealand Company, and directed or promoted the planting of the Special Settlements of Wellington, Nelson, Canterbury, and Otago, he may be said to have revived a lost and splendid art. Owing to the early misgovernment of New Zealand, leading to ten years' insecurity of life and property, and owing to certain errors of judgment and faults of execution common to all "'prentice works," our first modern imitations of Greek colonisation have not, perhaps, been so brilliantly successful as some of the models from which they were drawn. But, making fair allowance for those exceptional evils and disturbing causes to which our Special Settlements in New Zealand were exposed, I venture to say that in the year 1861, whether viewed with respect to their material wealth or their moral position, they stand forward among the best instances of profitable emigration which the world has ever seen. Wellington and Nelson, and Canterbury, and Otago, were "layers" of the parent stem imbedded in virgin soil—not twigs and leaves plucked at random and thrown in the earth to take their chance; and I cannot but think that in our further colonisation of the broad wild lands of our young Britain of the South we should do well to imbed some second "layers"—layers which cut and tended by the hand of experience would exhibit few or none of those defects which crippled the early growth of the first, and which might produce us almost as much fruit in ten years as our Wellingtons and Nelsons have produced us in twenty.

It is worthy of remark that Wellington and Nelson, and Canterbury and Otago, were all planted on the principle of what we properly call "Systematic Colonisation;" but, to endow themselves with greater attractiveness, and with more of the elements of cohesion and combination, the two latter enlisted into their service the *religious* principle, under which

Canterbury became the model Church of England Settlement, and Otago the model Free Kirk Settlement. In our present days of enlightenment and liberality there may, at first sight, be something offensive in the idea of promoting the colonisation of a young country like New Zealand by dotting it over with little denominational, or sectarian communities, and having a Catholic Province, with its capital Wiseman, in one part, a Baptist Province, with its capital Spurgeon in another. And I confess: that if we could lay down our "layers," plant our "Special Settlements," as well without the help of Cardinal Wiseman, Mr. Spurgeon, Dr. Cumming, or Bishop Wilberforce, as we could with their help, I for one would rather dispense with their help.* But experience shows that we cannot do this: experience shows that the religious principle can be made a most powerful ally of Systematic Colonisation. We see, both in early days in America, and in modern days in New Zealand, that a community of faith has formed an admirable bond of union among the first settlers, and been a most powerful attraction to all who follow them; and we may rest assured that if we would lighten our labours in getting together and enlisting a good body of emigrants of the various classes and of the right stamp, wherewith to plant a further series of "Special Settlements" in New Zealand, we must make such Settlements "*Denominational*" Settlements, and display over them the various crosses and banners of Chapel and Church.

It appears to me that the time has come when half a

* It should be observed, however, that the objections which have been urged against "Sectarian" or "Denominational Settlements" have been greatly exaggerated. However narrow and special a Settlement may be at first, it every year becomes more liberal and cosmopolitan. Dissenters would now find plenty of chapels in Canterbury, and would thrive there just as well as High Churchmen; and no good Catholic would now be roasted by the descendants of the Covenanters at Otago—not even, I think, by His Honour the Superintendent. The Special Settlement starts with a special original character; this gives it existence, and it retains this character long enough to give it root and growth, and to confer great social and material advantages on its first settlers. Nay, it may retain pleasant and profitable traces of its original character perhaps for generations, perhaps for ever. But, as population flows into the new land, and colonisation plants village after village, town after town, the special, exclusive, denominational mark of the Settlement becomes every year fainter and fainter, and church and chapel soon rise side by side.

dozen "Special Settlements," say Catholic, Evangelical, Scotch Church, Wesleyan, Baptist, and Independent, might now be successfully planted in New Zealand. Twenty years experience of the country has shown that in great natural advantages of soil and climate it is substantially superior to any emigration field in the world; while many years' experience of Wellington and Nelson, and Canterbury and Otago show, despite the 'prentice faults of their organization, and despite the calamities from which some of them long suffered (calamities which could never occur again), that Systematic Colonisation and the planting of "Special Settlements" in New Zealand, has been an enterprise attended with a very large measure of success. In her liberal form of government, too, in her society and social institutions, New Zealand is as fine an emigration field, politically and socially, as she is physically; while it is worthy of remark, that in respect to population, civilisation, and industrial progress she is just in that ripe state, or that state of happy mean, which fits her to become a field for the further development of systematic colonisation, and for the planting of new Special Settlements. A Special Settlement planted in the backwoods of British Columbia, or in the deserts of Western Australia, would be, as it were, lost in the wilderness for years — a Special Settlement planted in an old or populous emigration field like Canada or New South Wales could scarcely be planted in a good location, inasmuch as, *there*, the best locations and the best lands have long been taken up. But in New Zealand, a country as large as the United Kingdom, there are but some 80,000 colonists—anew to have planted a dozen thriving settlements—anew to have established society and social institutions—anew to have possessed themselves of three millions of head of live stock, to have raised a public revenue of £500,000, and to have partially opened up and subdued the country by road, bridge, and steamer—but *not* anew to have taken the cream of the country by monopolising ports and harbours, town and village sites, rivers and water privileges, plains and valleys, and all the finest agricultural, estate-creating lands.

In addition, too, to these various natural and artificial advantages which mark New Zealand as the fittest field for

the further prosecution of that systematic colonisation which she saw inaugurated at Wellington, she now offers to the promoters and founders of any Special Settlement, a certain legislative advantage which, I think, would prove singularly attractive to them. I allude to the "New Provinces Act," an act of the General Assembly under which any district in New Zealand possessing a port of entry, 500,000 acres of land, and 1000 inhabitants, may be raised into a separate independent province, to be governed, locally, by its own elected Provincial Council, like Auckland, Wellington, Taranaki, Hawke's Bay, Nelson, Marlborough, Canterbury, and Otago.* Looking at the growing desire now manifested by our middle classes to carry their small capitals and large families to some new, and more roomy, and untaxed Land, I cannot but think that if the various considerations touched on here were brought home to the eminent ministers and laymen of our various religious bodies, the result might be that we should soon see steps taken to lay the foundation in New Zealand of various little "Special Settlements"—Settlements the planning and the planting of which would be a high and good enterprise for ministers or laymen to engage in here, and which might offer a happy home and a successful career to hundreds of their co-religionists who might be the Settlements' first Pioneers.

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Between the formal planting of the "layers," (the Special Settlements,) alluded to by Archbishop Whately, and the mere throwing down of his "twigs and leaves" (the isolated, haphazard sort of emigration,) there is, however, a process of colonising which I would fain see more generally adopted, and which I shall name "Group Emigration"—that is the emigration of little private bodies of three or four, or half a dozen, or a

* I should regard a province of this capacity as amply large enough for the planting and growth of such a special Settlement as I have in view; for the Special or Denominational Settlements which I would use as a means of colonising New Zealand would be planned on a much smaller, and more modest scale than that adopted by Canterbury and Otago. For the purposes of Special Settlements, Canterbury and Otago are much too large; and, before long, we shall probably see them both cut up and partitioned off into two or three provinces: their very size, their monopoly of territory, *inviting* partition; or, as they would probably term it, "spoliation."

dozen or more families who, taking with them two or three or half a dozen good labourer's families, on the terms recommended in my Appendix to the New Zealand Handbook, would make the voyage together, purchase their wild land in a block, and then settle down on it, each on their own acres, as a little community of friends, neighbours, and fellow-labourers, mutually aiding and encouraging each other in the work of subdueing the wilderness, speeding the plough, stocking the farm, improving the homestead, and creating the little estate. "Group emigration" of this character has occasionally been practised with the happiest results in many colonies. In New Zealand, in the province of Auckland, it has been most wisely encouraged by a certain provision in the Land Regulations; and Auckland already exhibits various thriving little "group emigrant" communities—some, consisting of two or three considerable bodies of settlers who have re-emigrated from Canada and Nova Scotia, and who are now located in the beautiful district of Wangarei; others, of a body of families proceeding out from the Isle of Man; and others, again, of a group of Lincolnshire families, who have planted themselves down near the fine harbour of Monganni, in the country around Doubtless Bay.

Indeed, so many and so great are the advantages of this group emigration of families over the isolated emigration of the individual, that nothing in my experience of colonisation has caused me greater surprise and regret than that this "group emigration" is not far more generally practised than it is.

There is not, I think, any one position in life in which a man might find himself placed where he would profit so much by the fact of "union being strength" as he would were he about to emigrate to some new Land. If two families, A and B, were to proceed to New Zealand to-morrow—A going out alone in the usual solitary, haphazard manner, B allying themselves to three or four follow-families on the group system—I believe that at the expiration of the fifth year, if notes were compared, mutual experiences related, and a balance struck, it would be found that family B had obtained a return for the capital and labour they had employed better by twenty per cent. than the return obtained by family A; and that they

had suffered one half less than A had done from those many doubts, anxieties, difficulties, and disagreeables which are inseparable from the work of first settling down to a new pursuit in a new land. Three or four, or half a dozen, families emigrating to New Zealand in a little group, begin to command advantages over the solitary emigrant from the day they apply for passage; and they *retain* these advantages over him in each and every step of the enterprise, until, and long after, they actually find themselves settled down on their own acres in the new land. Let us glance at a few of them. Deputing two or three of their body to act as managers, and going into the shipping market with perhaps 2000*l.* or 3000*l.* to spend where they like in passage money and freight, they make sure of securing a first-class ship, command the pick of the cabins, and pocket the handsome sum which, as wholesale customers, would be allowed them by any ship-broker in a reduction of passage money. In the equally important matter of outfit and equipment, not only do certain similar advantages attend them, but they have one or two great additional advantages to count on, which are these: when a single family of the small-capitalist class goes to New Zealand with a view of buying land and creating a little estate, there are certain implements, or machines, or seeds, or live stock, or other things, which they would like to take; but which, as the article or articles would cost a considerable sum, and could only be looked on as articles to be used or employed wholly and solely by themselves, they do not venture to take. Now, in a "group of families" this difficulty either does not arise at all, or it arises in a less degree: a little counsel is called on the Outfit Question, and it is decided that A of the group shall take, say, a thrashing-machine, B a saw-mill, C some extra strong ploughs, D half a score of choice breeding sheep, E a hundred pounds-worth of grass seed, F a good family waggonette; and when the group gets on its block of land, A sells or lends B the use of something he has brought, and B does the same by C and D.

The Group maintain their superiority of position on the voyage: a surly, disagreeable, domineering captain might ill-treat or annoy the poor Browns, unprotected and alone—but if poor Browns be banded with stout Smiths, robust Robinsons,

clever Clarkes, legal Lloyds, and the like, a rude, unmannerly captain would think twice ere he wilfully cut Brown a bad slice, kissed Miss Ada, or jostled Brown off the poop.

The Group lands, and they still retain their advantages over the Individual. As an organised little body, well armed for the work before them, they create a sensation and command respect the moment they set foot ashore: they have done the little Settlement the honour of choosing it as their future home in preference to a dozen other Settlements, and popularity, and a hearty welcome await them at every turn. They stow away their heavy baggage on the wharf, and house themselves in suburban cottages or lodgings for a few weeks.* A day or two after they are thus temporarily housed, the heads of the families, or some little "land-buying" committee they may elect, proceed to the land office—the Land Commissioner, the Chief Surveyor, the First Clerk, the Second Clerk, each and every official with whom they came in contact, would feel *interested* in such a party, and would offer them every facility in the work of selecting a really good block of land. The land selected and divided, and each head of a family having his crown title for his particular lot in his pocket, the party knock up their make-shift cottages, and by degrees move on to the land—men and lads going first, mammas and Adas following with the babies. They are now planted down to their work, and, grouped as they are, they will for a time find it hard work to turn the rugged waste into a cluster of blooming farms. But here, in the actual work of reclamation and cultivation, they will still enjoy a hundred advantages over the single family who have emigrated in the haphazard style, and who have sat down before the bush solitary and alone. The Group (a little community of neighbour families, often, probably, intermarrying and having society within themselves) is far better armed with outfit weapons for the fight before it than the single family. It can combine forces, too, for the making of some branch road, the felling of some piece of

* Any few good labourers the "Group" might have brought with them could always get employment in the town or neighbourhood for a week or two until they were wanted on the land.

forest, the gathering in of some crop, and, *united*, can accomplish a dozen improvements in the rising farms where the single family can accomplish one. Such a Group, too, joined as it often would be by friends and relatives from the mother country, might soon grow large enough to form a little "Special Settlement" of its own, to possess itself of certain political power, and, sending its member to the Provincial Council, take care that in the expenditure of public money on roadmaking, steam communication, postal arrangements, and public works, the Settlement received its fair share of the public purse.

The only reason I can imagine why a description of emigration so replete with advantages as "*Family group emigration*" is not more generally practised, is this—namely, that when a family of the small-capitalist class is about to emigrate they are either utterly ignorant of the vast superiority of group emigration, or, if they have ever heard of it, they languidly fancy that it would be impossible to find any other families whom they would like to join, or who would like to join them. Here, however, I would observe that nothing valuable is to be had without we take some trouble to have it; and there would often, I dare say, be some difficulty experienced in getting together three or four or half a dozen families to form an "emigrant group" such as I have sketched. But, in saying this, I would also say that, looking to the growing desire of our middle-class families to emigrate, and to the increasing popularity of the South Island of New Zealand as an emigration field, I have no doubt that if any energetic family now looking to New Zealand, and duly impressed with the advantages of "group emigration," were to go heartily to work to beat up for recruits they would soon find some. It often happens in a circle of friends, when emigration is discussed, that one family says, "*I will go if you will go;*" and if where there was such ground to start on these two families would both seek about for others among their friends' friends, and just advertise once or twice in the *Times*, and in two or three good country papers, stating, in half a dozen lines, their views, I believe that in the great majority of cases a "group party" could be got together in three months after the attempt was commenced.

One or two families of retired officers, joined with one or two active agriculturists, a country curate, and surgeon, and one or two

good men of business, each with a family of three, or four, or half a dozen grown-up or half-grown children, and taking with them three or four good labourers' families; and each having, say, from five hundred to a couple of thousand pounds or so in cash, would form an admirable group. The reader should distinctly understand that I am contemplating no sort of company, or partnership, or joint-stock arrangement. Buying land in companies and attempting to create estates in new countries, under partnership arrangements, is a proceeding which seldom or never answers either in a pecuniary or social point or view; and if anything of the partnership nature were sought to be engrafted on our group emigration the arrangements for the movement would be complicated a hundred-fold, and the movement itself, if ever made, would probably be a most unhappy one.* Let any group emigration party go out hampered with "partnership agreements," and in all human probability the partnership agreements would be torn up as waste paper three months after arrival, and the enterprise would prove a signal failure. Let them, on the other hand, seek to do no more than to associate together in a friendly manner for the purposes of securing mutual encouragement, succour, and support, and in all human

* I give below a letter lately addressed to me by a gentleman in India. I have told him in reply that any number of old Indians might advantageously settle in New Zealand in large or little groups—each man, helped by, and helping his neighbours, and, thus, creating for himself his own little estate. But I have advised him to leave all joint-stock associations to Capel Courts, to British Banks, and to Projectors who having displayed the greatest ingenuity in losing their own money are ever ready to display equal ingenuity in losing other people's.

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"Dear Sir,—On the strength of the kind permission given in the introduction to your excellent work on New Zealand to readers to apply to you on any special emigration matters not touched on in that book, I am induced to trouble you with the following remarks.

"There are in India a number of professional men who purpose, on retiring from the active duties of their professions, making their homes in the southern provinces of New Zealand.

"It is sought to connect these gentlemen with the country of their proposed adoption by means of a joint-stock association, to be formed for the purpose of purchasing and cultivating land by sheep and stock on the following basis:—

"The capital to be subscribed in ten annual instalments of say 10,000*l.* per annum; to be invested in land and stock, and farmed by agents

probability the enterprise would prove a great success. Not a success without alloy, perhaps: small disputes might arise among the ladies on the voyage as to the beauties of their respective babies; and so many little differences of opinion might occur between their Lords on reaching the promised Land, that, here and there, one or two members of a group party might elect to leave it, and would settle down in sulky solitude in their own way. If a Group-Emigrant party were not subject to these casualties, it would not be a party composed of human beings. But, allowing for all this, I assert, that in the vast majority of cases, a well selected Group-Emigrant party would, for the most part, act harmoniously together; and would find that their plan of emigration had secured to them many substantial advantages utterly beyond the reach of those who, idly or passively, are content to emigrate in the usual haphazard manner, and to land in the new world uncared for, unnoticed, unaided, and alone.

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appointed by the proprietors, and controlled by an executive committee of shareholders resident in the province; the profits to be cumulative till the whole capital shall be paid up, after which dividends to be paid.

"If such a scheme is compatible with the laws, regulations, and customs prevailing in the province, and can be shown, by the testimony of stock owners of celebrity, to be remunerative, and if its integrity is guaranteed by the support of some of the leading members of society in the province, I believe the association would be popular among the civilians and military of India, and that 100,000*l.* might be raised for carrying the scheme into effect.

"Such, in its crude immature state, is the subject I have to submit to you. If you should see in it elements of success, and have time to give me your opinion and advice, I should esteem it a favour; and should you be inclined to take a future interest in it, your co-operation would be highly valued.

"I am, dear sir,

"Yours faithfully,

"———

"*Charles Hursthouse, Esq.*,

"*Taunton Place,*

"*Regent's Park.*"

# CHAPTER XIX.

## THE NATIVE WAR, AND OUR FUTURE NATIVE POLICY.

*Introductory Remarks.*

*The Value of Emigration Fields and Colonies, and their Importance to the Mother Country.*

*Colonisation and Aboriginal Races; and the Treatment of the Maori Race in New Zealand.*

*Causes of the Outbreak at Taranaki.*

*History of the Ngatiawa Tribe and William King: the New Plymouth Land Question and King's Pretensions to the Waitara.*

*Our future Native Policy.*

*Emigration as affected by the Native Question.*

*Appendix.*

*The numbered passages occurring in this chapter have reference to the explanatory or additional remarks in the Appendix, which can be read after the perusal of the chapter.*

### Introductory Remarks.

Had it been reasonably probable that the Native Outbreak at Taranaki would be confined to that province, I might, serious as it is, have passed it over in this work as a mere passing quarrel in a corner of the colony between a few disaffected Natives on the one side and a handful of Settlers

on the other—a quarrel affecting only the locality in which it had occurred. But I regret to say that, as yet, we have no assurance that these Taranaki troubles will end where they began. I am no alarmist. I have lived long enough among our Natives not to be frightened by a war speech, or to be scared by a war dance. I know that the Maori is an arrant braggart—the Gascon of the South. But I also know that he has the pluck to fight hard, the power to fight well; and, despite the peaceful demeanour of the chiefs who met the governor in conference at Kohimarama, I cannot but see that if Major-Gen. Pratt does not soon follow up his late little success at Mahoetahi by striking the enemy some heavy blow, another mail or two may tell us that the rebel bands have been quadrupled, and that Auckland, Napier, and Wanganui are menaced or attacked. In the following remarks, therefore, I have thought it prudent to look beyond New Plymouth—prudent to view the Outbreak there as a war cloud which may gather and spread, and to treat of it as the possible commencement of a struggle into which the other Settlements may one by one be drawn, and which may even lead to an exterminating war of races from north to south.

I should perhaps remark that I and many members of my family have long resided in New Plymouth, this desolated Garden of the Colony; and, though some of my dearest friends there may have lost their little all by the ravages of the rebel bands, I trust that my desire not to damage my cause by any intemperance of statement, if no better motive, will show that in the following pages I can speak of the native race and of William King and his proceedings unbiassed by any feeling of personal vindictiveness or revenge. Indeed, in common with the great majority of my brother colonists, I have long taken a deep interest in the welfare of our Aborigines. In a little work of mine on New Plymouth, commended both by Sir George Grey and Bishop Selwyn—and in the first edition of this work, favourably noticed by the *Times*, and the leading London journals, and quoted more than once by the *Quarterly Review*, and other periodicals—I suggested measures for the benefit of the Maori race which had they been adopted would, I think, have done something to prevent that Maori King Movement which has mainly

caused the present war; and though like all Colonists who have lived much among our Natives I have had the conviction forced on me that their missionary conversion is but a mere lacquer of religion, and that is still *grattez le Maori et trouvez le Sauvage*, I have ever given them credit for the possession of many useful if not amiable qualities, and have long seen that if they could only be preserved for a few more years they might end by becoming orderly and useful citizens of our little State.

In a late *Times* leader, it was well remarked that the statements made as to the justice of the course pursued by Governor Browne in dealing with William King were so conflicting as to render it, at first sight, almost impossible to pronounce whether the Government or the Natives were in the wrong. If, apparently, the dispute had been confined to the Governor and his ministerial advisers on the one side, and to William King and his missionary apologists on the other, I fancy that the public, here, would soon have seen that the former were in the right. But a late letter of the Melbourne correspondent of the *Times* has strangely complicated the question by actually making it appear that the Colonists, themselves, are denouncing the Governor and sympathising with William King.

The *Times* correspondent was in error. In New Zealand, even, we know how to make political capital; and in our little Parliament at Auckland, as at St. Stephen's, there is the Ministerial side and the Opposition. In New Zealand, though, as before observed, we are not Whigs and Tories, but Centralists and Provincialists. The former are the party in power; the latter, led by Mr. Fox (see note, page 358), have long sought their downfall; and when our infant House of Commons met the other day in Auckland, Mr. Fox and his associates seized on the Taranaki war as the ladder by which they hoped to climb again to place and power. Though, however, Mr. Fox and the half-dozen Opposition may make a party cry of the Taranaki War, and try to persuade themselves that it is an *unjust* war, I shall venture to say that of the 30,000 male adult colonists now in New Zealand full 29,000 of us would pronounce it to be a *just* war—one into which the Governor was *forced* by the Natives, and one which for the good of both races must not be put a stop to till William King and his allies shall sue for peace and pardon. The parties,

in fact, who support the war, as a necessity, are the representative of the Queen and his responsible advisers, the colonists, and the Wesleyan missionary body; backed, *at present*, by nearly half the Natives. Those who condemn the war are the Maori King and Land League Natives, allied with intemperate visionaries like Archdeacon Hadfield and Bishop Abraham, and with our old Church Missionary party—that party which, as we have seen in the first chapter of this work, brought such scandal on the Church some years ago in New Zealand, by their strange dealings with the Natives for the acquisition of huge glebes of tens of thousands of acres of land.

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## The Value of Emigration Fields and Colonies, and their Vital Importance to the Mother Country.

Taking this wider view of the Taranaki war, I shall beg leave to premise the observations I have to make on it with a few remarks on one or two points which are generally overlooked when colonies and colonists are glanced at in the Mother Country, but which, I think, are worthy of our attention if we would arrive at a just and comprehensive view of the subject now soliciting our consideration.

In the discussions which the Taranaki war has provoked in Parliament and the Press, it seems not unfrequently to have been thought that "New Zealand and her troubles" are matters affecting only her Settlers, or matters in which the Mother Country had little no real interest at stake. A moment's consideration, however, will, I think, show us that those who take this narrow view of the subject take a wrong view of it; and will convince us that England has as much to gain by the peaceful progress of a young colony like New Zealand as New Zealand herself.

Nothing, I take it, can be clearer than that the possession of good emigration fields is one of the great vital requirements of a country like the United Kingdom, where the area is so small and the people so many that already there are no fewer than 250 human beings to be counted for every square mile; and where there is a struggling, restless, enterprising population increasing at the formidable rate of nearly three hundred thousand souls

a year. In the last forty years, five millions of people, one-sixth of our present population, have sailed from the United Kingdom to our great emigration fields in America, Africa, and Australasia. The national convulsions, the social earthquakes, which our little islands have escaped by the safe seaward flow of this their "population-larva" defy all computation. If these five millions of emigrants, and their increase some millions more, had been caged up in our narrow streets and fields, increasing a thousandfold the numbers of our destitute and our desperate, who will assert that England would now have been England, that the Guelphs would have been at St. James's, the Russells at Woburn, the Stanleys at Knowsley, the Fundholder anywhere?

But it is not only that our broad emigration fields, our great national safety-valves, may have spared us a revolution—emigration fields and emigrants have saved us millions in crime taxes and pauper taxes, while they have doubled, perhaps quadrupled, both our home and our foreign trade. Two-thirds of this vast exodus of five millions of people have been poor people, people of the order of labour; and had this mass of half-fed working-men, this mass of possible paupers, remained here festering, increasing, accumulating, England might have exhibited a dozen gaols, a dozen pauper preserves, where she now exhibits one. As to the vast extension of trade and commerce created by emigrants and colonists, we have to recollect that both the power of consumption and the power of production in a working man is wonderfully increased when he gets to a colony. Where he buys 1*l.* worth of our industrial productions, and produces 1*l.* worth of our industrial exports, while he remains a pauper, or a possible pauper, in England, he may buy 10*l.* worth of our industrial productions, and produce 10*l.* worth of the raw produce for our industrial exports, when he gets to the richly-paid, free-living, labour-fields of a young colony. And it is mainly owing to this pregnant fact that the few millions of people, the emigrants and the descendants of emigrants, who constitute the pioneer colonist populations of our American, African, Australian, and New Zealand emigration fields, now buy of the mother country British manufactures to the amount of some thirty millions sterling per annum; and already send us, mere infant communities as many of them are, bullion, and raw materials for our manufactures

(materials, wanting which, many of our manufactories would close to-morrow) to the value of full twenty millions sterling per annum; while, outward and homeward, they probably employ and sustain nearly one third of the whole of our mercantile marine.*

It may be that England has gained her greatest glories on her battle-fields—but she has gained her greatest profits by her emigration-fields; and of these rich homes for her surplus poor, of these colonial mines from which she draws so regal an annual tribute, of these thriving but sometimes ailing children of her body, New Zealand is the one which offers best promise of a brilliant future, and the one which most demands her present care.

Let us take a brief recapitulatory glance at our young "Britain of the South." In extent of area she is the equal of the United Kingdom; in climate and fertility, the superior. On the opening of the inevitable Panama route, she will be placed within nearly a month's reach of London, and will stand almost as near to us as Scotland did to Cornwall a century ago. After battling her way through an iliad of disasters, occasioned by early missionary misgovernment, and by the sentimental petting of her missionary natives, we find her, in the twelfth† year of her colonisation, counting a population of 80,000 of the flower of British emigrants, who already have a public revenue of 500,000*l.*, an annual export and import trade of the value of nearly three millions sterling, and flocks and herds counting nearly three millions of heads; while in population, in revenue, in trade, in agriculture, the young colony is exhibiting a ratio of annual progress and increase varying from fifteen to twenty per cent. Such a country, both in respect to her intrinsic natural advantages, and to her position as one of the group of England's noble colonies, is not to be regarded in Downing Street as the mere waif or chattel either of the handful of semi-savages whose ancestral canoes happened to drift on her coasts, or of the few thousands of emigrants, good as they may be, who happen to have been the first to land on her shores. New Zealand is the property of the British nation, the noble inheritance and broad landed

* See table and remarks, pages 340 to 343. † See remarks, page 182.

estate of the thirty millions of people pent up within the limits of these narrow isles: the affairs of her pioneering handful of hardy Settlers deserve as much attention from the Mother Country as the affairs of the people of Middlesex—nay, perhaps more, for New Zealand is weak, while Middlesex is strong—and rightly regarded, both in respect to what she *is* and to what she may *become*, New Zealand is as much an integral part of the British empire as Cornwall, or Devonshire, or Wales, or Yorkshire, or Kent.

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### Colonisation and Aboriginal Races, and the Treatment of the Native Race in New Zealand.

Again, if we would arrive at a correct and comprehensive view of the subject before us, there is another point to be mentioned ere we proceed to the immediate question of the Taranaki war—a point on which some misconception exists in England, and on which many excellent people, here, require to be disabused. The rapid decay, or total extinction of whole tribes of the Red Indian in North America, the utter disappearance of every human being of the black race in Van Diemen's Land, the rapid decrease of the aborigines of Australia, coupled as these facts are with the knowledge that they are partly attributable to the aggressions or to the fatal gifts of the white man, have naturally made every aboriginal race an object of interest and sympathy in the Mother Country; and when this race happens to be one of superior intelligence, like the Maori, popular feeling in its favour is apt to take the form of a somewhat maudlin sentimentality, and to regard the Native as the poor oppressed savage, poisoned by rum, and robbed of his lands, by the sordid and selfish Settler. It is true that the Indians of America, and, to some small extent, the Aborigines of Australia, have suffered injuries at the hands of the white man—but it is equally true that, even here, the Natives have not been the unoffending innocents their advocates would have us believe. Even here, too, the Aborigines have received from the Settler, or have been offered, many great gifts of civilisation; while looking at the ferocious tribal wars they were ever waging with each other,

and which colonisation all but stopped, it may well be questioned whether the extinction or degradation of the Aborigines of America and Australia be not less attributable to the coming of the white man, than to the *delay* of the coming of the white man.

Whatever, however, may have been the dealings of Europeans with savage races in other parts of the world, in New Zealand, at least, they have been treated with ample justice and consideration—nay, too often with hyper-refined tenderness and attention—and most assuredly if either race in New Zealand had to complain of oppression on the part of mutual rulers it would not be the *Maori* but the *Colonist.* Though by virtue of our great Circumnavigator's discovery and surveys; though by virtue of that great unwritten law which declares that the earth is God's gift to man, and that a handful of savages shall nowhere lock up millions of acres of a wild garden wherein they pluck no fruit, a body of hard-working, half-starved Englishmen had a *right* to plant their little Settlements in New Zealand, and to *take* a portion of the immense unused wilderness for the plough, yet they did not do this. Guided, guided wrongly, as I think, by the missionary councillors of both races, they solemnly agreed, almost ere they set foot ashore, to recognise that every inch of a country as large as Great Britain and Ireland belonged, virtually and legally belonged, to a handful of savages, not more numerous than our gipsy race, who happened to be born there; and by the "Treaty of Waitangi" pledged themselves to use no single acre of the vast untrodden territory before them except such as the Native from time to time should feel disposed to part with, and should elect to sell. This agreement has been scrupulously observed for twenty years: every acre which the British Government and the British settlers own or cultivate in New Zealand to this day has been openly, fully, and fairly purchased of the natives by the Government; (1) and though the difficulty of thus acquiring a sufficient portion of the unused millions of acres of the North Island has long pressed heavily on the northern colonists, and sadly retarded the progress of the country, not the slightest intention or even wish has ever been expressed either by the Colonial Government, or by any body of the colonists, (2) to depart either from the letter or the spirit of

their missionary-made agreement of Waitangi—unjust to them as that agreement was. Now, as ever, the natives are told "yours is the land to sell, ours to buy;" and the very war now raging at Taranaki arises partly from the gross attempt of one chief to prevent another from selling to the Government certain lands of his own which he wished to dispose of to the Government in regular conformity with the provisions of the Treaty of Waitangi.

Thus, in the great matter of the acquisition of wild land, the Maori race has been the very reverse of an oppressed race, and a far wider and more liberal construction has practically been given to their "rights" than would probably have been given to the "rights" of any remnant of a *white* race found dwelling in a similar position in an unused wilderness. But it is not alone in the matter of the LAND that the European has dealt fairly and kindly with the Native. Hospitals have been erected for his bodily ailments, and a large and costly missionary establishment is maintained for his special spiritual benefit and education. Before the coming of the white man he lived in continual terror of the bloody assaults of his next Pah neighbours, and any day might see his women, slaves, and children, brained before his face, and cooked and eaten at his door—now, his life and property are as secure as if he were a citizen of Southwark. Found covered with mats, and feeding on dog-fish and wild roots, he is now, comparatively, a well-clothed man, daily eating his fill from a well-stored larder, and possessed of property acquired from the Colonist which has made him the richest savage in the world. Though owing so much to the security afforded him by the introduction of civilized institutions, he has never been compelled to bow to them, but has ever, since the coming of the Colonist, enjoyed at once the freedom afforded him by his semi-savage life, and, for the most part, the security afforded him by British law. Despite the brutal ferocities exhibited by him at the Wairau and elsewhere; despite the knowledge that his missionary conversion is a mere pharasaical mask, and that there is no word in his language approximating even to the meaning of "gratitude," the colonists, as a body, do not wish him ill. (3) They say, as I have said for myself, that they

recognise in him many useful qualities, and believe that if he can only be preserved for a few more years he may end by becoming a useful citizen of our little State.

In short, every man who knows New Zealand and the New Zealanders, knows that the Maori has always been more cared for and regarded than the Settler, and that he has often been fondled, and patted, and petted, and spoiled. The crass cry that he is the "poor, prayerful black man, cheated out of his lands, and hunted to death by the white," may be uttered by Mr. Adderley, and echoed by the senility of Exeter Hall—but, if I may employ a low but apt word, I shall ask the reader to brush this little bit of "humbug" aside, and to believe me when I say that the Maori is no object for pity or compassion; and I shall further ask the reader to support me in my assertion that in this murderous outbreak at New Plymouth the sympathies of the people of England are due rather to the handful of pioneer Colonists who are risking, and who are losing, life and fortune in their struggle to maintain possession of a Land they are holding for the nation, than to the native race—the native race who provoked the quarrel, who commenced it with murders worthy of their most ferocious days, and who as yet, for the most part, have returned us only evil for good.

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## Causes of the Outbreak.

The disturbances at Taranaki are attributable to a combination of four causes, namely—1st. The "King movement."—2nd. The long-cherished determination of William King to keep for himself the whole of the Waitara district, intact.—3rd. The braggart desire of the younger men to try a fall with the whites, and to make plunder.—4th. The strong, innate, wanton love of fighting, and the weasel-like appetite for blood, peculiar to the whole Maori race.

The "King movement," has unquestionably been the chief cause of the trouble, and, directly and indirectly, has probably exercised as much influence in bringing about the present state of things as the whole of the other causes combined. The King Movement is a popular phrase used to designate an attempt on

the part of certain disaffected tribes to erect in New Zealand in opposition to, or independent of, British rule, a separate native State to be governed by an elected native king. The first indications of some such a design on the part of the Natives, were virtually manifested among the Cook's Straits and Taranaki tribes at the native meeting, described at page 501, in 1854. This was followed by another meeting held by the Taupo natives in 1856; this was followed by a great meeting of the Waikatoes in 1858, when old Potatau (4) was proclaimed King; and at the present time, counting secret sympathisers and open and avowed supporters, the Land-League and King Movement party numbers, probably, nearly two-thirds of the Natives, or some 15,000 fighting men.

The motives which led the natives to originate or to support the King Movement, and the objects they expect to attain by it, are various. A few of the more friendly chiefs may possibly have joined it in the hope that a powerful native ruler residing on the spot and promptly administrating a rude form of government, based partly on native customs, partly on British laws, would be better able to suppress the tribal disorders of their own people than a distant Queen, acting through a Governor, influenced or directed by a Legislative Assembly composed exclusively of white men. Others, needy designing men, have joined the Movement in the hope that in its progress or consummation it would offer them opportunities of obtaining influence or repairing fortune, and have supported it much as a ragged socialist or a starving democrat would support a scheme for the partition of property or a plot for a revolution. Others, restless spirits, loving war rather than peace, and fondly regarding the good old times of blood and plunder, have joined the Movement in the hope that some day it might gratify them with a campaign or two; while others, and indeed the greater number who would set up this Maori kingling and range themselves under his banners, have been prompted to take the side they have done partly through contemptuous dislike, and partly through fear and jealousy, of the white man. After half a century's intercourse between the races, after twenty years' experience of the white man's sacred observance of his oath, after the wealth and comfort and security which he has brought the black, it might have been hoped that the

latter motive I have mentioned here could never have influenced the Maori in taking any course which he might adopt, and that he would have regarded the Colonist, not with suspicion as a needy interloper, but with trust and affection as a tried friend. But, as before observed, there is no word in the language of these people approximating even to the meaning of gratitude: suspicious and designing savages they have ever been, and for the most part, godly as they may be, suspicious and designing savages they still remain. They like a few of us to trade with, and to sell them guns, and groceries, and blankets, and tobacco —but they want only a few of us. They would have a few thousands of us to live with them on sufferance as expert traders and tailors, ministering to their bodily wants: an emigrant ship a year is quite as much as they care to see; and there can be no doubt that the large arrival of people in Auckland during the last year or two, under the "free grant" regulations of that province, has much alarmed them, and led to the belief that if something were not soon done to check this influx of the Whites the Maori race would soon be so outnumbered as to be trodden underfoot or lost. Intelligent as they are in many things, and able to quote Scripture for almost every evil deed they do, they have no idea of colonisation and its necessities, no idea of the vast development and expansion given to a young country by agriculture, by arts, by trade. Were their oldest missionary to tell them that New Zealand, under the plough, would support ten millions of each race, or twenty millions of a partially amalgamated race in easy plenty, and that such race might become masters of the South Pacific, they would call him a fool and a liar to his face; and would remind him—yes, even the most intelligent of them—that just as the White man's rat had destroyed the Native rat, so would the White man, when he was strong enough, destroy the Native.

In the various views, too, which they have taken as to the desirability of setting up some native King, and as to the objects to be attained thereby, they have been encouraged and supported in two widely different quarters—I allude to the Church Missionary Party, and to a body of men forming a somewhat low and obscure portion of our little community whom we call "Pakeha Maories"(5)—encouraged indirectly, perhaps, and un-

wittingly, by the former; but, directly, and of design, by the latter. I trust that no one is more sensible than I am of the advantages which the large missionary establishments in New Zealand have conferred on both races. They have tended to popularise the country as an emigration field, and have thus brought us capital and labour; they have bettered our markets, extended education, improved trade, and multiplied exports and converts; and though our missionary establishments count among their members pious firebrands like Archdeacon Hadfield—who if he pursued his pamphleteering among our American cousins, would soon be translated to another sphere—I should be sorry to see one of them suppressed or reduced, and would indeed vote an annual grant of public money to every mission station from north to south. But, though I say this, I say and assert that in all missionary teaching, in all missionary intercourse with the natives, there runs a vein of flattery of the Black man, a vein of depreciation of the White. Charmed by his ready conversion, by his docility in chapel, his fervency in prayer, the missionaries have so bepraised the Maori that his inherent good opinion of himself has been enhanced to a degree that has made him believe his own to be the superior race. Not, perhaps, a race which could make a coat, or play the fiddle, or build a ship, so well as the Pakeha; but, a race which could pray and fight better—a race which might fairly aspire to rule the State, and to give the White man laws instead of taking them from him; and I think no one who has any practical knowledge of the relations which have long subsisted between Missionaries and Natives would deny that missionary teaching and training has done quite as much to make the Maori aspire to place on earth as to peace in heaven.(6)

The "Pakeha Maories," if they have not exercised a more powerful influence over the Natives in bringing about the King Movement than the Missionaries, have exercised a far more direct influence, and have been actuated, not as Missionaries generally have, by an erroneous but philanthropic and disinterested view of the rights, privileges, and capabilities of the Maori race, but by a base and sordid desire to retain their hold on the Natives, and to benefit themselves. The class of Settlers of which these men are composed has been described at page 141. It is not for a

moment meant to be asserted that all of them, or even the majority of them, are rebellious reprobates who deserve the halter; for among their numbers there are many, some of whom, indeed, are personally known to me, gentlemen by birth and education, or respectable working men, who by the example they have set the Native and the truths they have endeavoured to instil into him deserve at once to rank among the best of our pioneer Colonists, and among the most practical and benevolent of our Missionaries. But here and there in the Waikato, and Taupo, and East coast country, there will be found settled down among the Natives some escaped convict, or deserter, or runaway whaler or other low adventurer, who has probably taken one or two petty chief's daughters for concubines, and who in language, habits, thoughts and feelings, in all save the colour of his skin, has become almost a Native, and who is a Pakeha Maori of the worst and most dangerous type. A man of this description has long exercised great influence in the village where he has dwelt for years. Having a good idiomatic knowledge of the language, he has often acted as interpreter between his tribe and their European visitors: he has repaired their guns, stored their powder, taught them cartridge-making, improved their huts, sown their wheat, doctored their cattle, strengthened their fortifications, sat in their every council, and next to the leading chief has often been the "great man" of the Settlement. Such a man has ever beheld the advance of colonisation with dismay. He feels uneasy at the approach of law and order: the magistrate was never a friend of his; early reminiscences of the cat and the handcuff disturb his sleep; and even if the approaching township of the Colonist should not lessen his personal security it would lessen or destroy his personal influence—for he knows that if this new township be once planted near him he will no longer be the one "white man" in the neighbourhood, but the one white man among a thousand; and he knows that among the thousand there will be hundreds who would mock at his pretensions, and who might soon wrest from his rude hands the leadership of the Natives and the direction of their affairs. Men of this stamp have been secret but powerful promoters of the King Movement—for the King Movement is but another name for the Anti-land-selling League,

and if no land were sold, no new Settlements could be planted and no danger incurred of our Pakeha-Maori losing his security or power. Indeed, under a native king, Pakeha-Maoris might become rude ministers of government, and aspire to the highest seats in Maori feasts and councils held under the greenwood tree. Men of this stamp are supposed even to have dared the halter by joining the rebels at Taranaki: a white man was certainly seen directing the rebel ranks in one of the fights at Wataira, and both in Heke's war and in this present revolt at Taranaki many of the dispositions of our troops, many of our plans of attack, have been met by the Natives in such a manner as to give rise to the suspicion either that treachery has been at work, or that the rebels have been secretly directed in their operations by some higher intelligence than their own.

As before observed, the motives which have induced the Natives to originate or to join the King Movement, and the objects they hope to gain by it, are many and various; and the course they may have intended to pursue, the succession of steps they may have intended to take, to bring about the consummation of their wishes are matters on which we are very imperfectly informed, and on which, probably, there has been a wide difference of opinion among themselves (7). But whatever may have been the differences among them in regard to their motives for joining the Movement, or in regard to the results they looked to, or in regard to the course of action to be pursued to attain such results, there has been one thing on which they have been unanimous, and that has been *a determination to sell no more land themselves, and to dissuade, or to prevent, any other natives from doing the same.* The refusal to sell land they have regarded as the alpha and omega of their new political creed; and the "King" is so small a point compared with the "Land," that I should have described the new Movement not as the King Movement, aiming among other things at retaining the land, but as the Anti Land-selling-league Movement, aiming, among other things, at securing a leader in the person of a King. Hence, we see the connexion between the King Movement and the Taranaki Revolt—both are Movements taken to prevent the alienation of land—and every one who has read the Rev. Mr. Buddle's admirable pamphlet on the King Move-

ment, and who knows William King and the A B C of Maori tactics, knows that neither William King nor his murderous allies from the south (8) would ever have ventured to brave such a force as has been assembled against them, had they not the assurance, despite the farce at Kohimarama (9), that they possessed the warm sympathy of nine-tenths of the King Movement party, and that, if they came to be hard pressed, and if the selfish readiness to shout with what seemed the strongest party did not outweigh even the King Movement feeling, there were six or seven thousand natives within three or four days' march of their frontiers who would gladly come if beckoned to, and help them to sack New Plymouth, and drive the redcoats into the sea.

The other and minor causes of the Taranaki war, enumerated at page 444, require but brief mention. William King has long boasted that he would suffer no white man to plough up a single acre of the magnificent wilderness of the Waitara, where, dog in the manger, he snarls over what he cannot use. He, and his rights and titles to another man's land, and the gross injustice of his quarrel, will be described hereafter: he is one of those stolid savages of the old school who compare the white man to the white man's rat, and the King Movement of his powerful Waikato and Taupo neighbours has now emboldened him to try conclusions with the bayonet, and to defy the Queen.

A desire on the part of the young men, the hot blood, of the Maori race, to try a fall with the European, and see who is the best man, has long been evident to all who have listened to him in his Waré, or heard him bragging round the fire of the bivouac. He has heard the old men boast of their great deeds of war, of the plunder they made, of the slaves and slave girls they led home—the booty and the beauty. He is sick of driving pigs and catching eels, and he, too, would become a warrior and show his women that these pale-faced Pakehas, these be-ringed tailors and traders who dazzle her so much, have no stuff of manhood in them—that he, the Maori, can kill and eat them, and teach the glittering asses the oft-read but little heeded lesson that he who has the best iron, and the soul to use it, can always have the most gold.

The wanton love of fighting, and the weasel-like appetite for blood, which I have mentioned as being another of the minor causes of the outbreak at Taranaki, have long been, and still are, marked characteristics of the whole Maori race. If I had cared to have filled my pages with the record of a tithe of the ferocious massacres and bloody deeds perpetrated by the natives during the last thirty or forty years my readers would have sickened at the tale. I do not say the Maori is so bad now as he was once—but, looking at the part he played in Heke's rebellion, looking at the Wairau and Wanganui massacres, looking at the brutal murders of our boys and unoffending settlers with which he inaugurated his revolt at Taranaki, I say, that despite his baptism, he is still, even yet, the turbulent and blood-thirsty savage; and I would stake my existence on the truth of the assertion that among William King's rebel bands at Waitara, there are numbers who care nothing for King Movement or Land-Movement, but who are there wholly and solely through lust of plunder and thorough wanton love of blood.

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### History of the Ngatiawa Tribe and William King: the New Plymouth Land Question, and King's pretensions to the Waitara.

The Taranaki war, as before observed, has been caused, mainly, by the native King movement; and the real question to be fought out at Waitara is not whether the Queen or William King shall possess a miserable patch of land there, but whether Victoria the First or Potatau the Second shall be the sovereign of New Zealand; and whether our young Britain of the South shall be retained as a British colony for tens of thousands of British emigrants, or be abandoned to Exeter Hall and locked up as a missionary preserve.

Nevertheless, as William King's apologists, Archdeacon Hadfield and Mr. Fox (10), passing over their client's secret connection with the King Movement party, have chosen, in those intemperate pamphlets of theirs sent home and circulated so hurriedly in England with a view of prejudging the case, to represent the Taranaki war as one provoked by mere *local* causes, and to picture their convert as the poor, prayerful chief, anxious only to preserve the little fields of his people from the aggressions of the

Settler, I will, here, narrow the question so as to suit the Missionary's and the Lawyer's convenience; and, sketching the history of William King and his tribe, will ask such of my readers as may have seen these pamphlets, to say whether the writers have given us a portrait or a caricature of their client; and to pronounce whether the Taranaki war, regarded even as a war springing from a mere local quarrel, is not a war which William King has deliberately and wantonly provoked.

Rangitaké, alias Whiti, alias Wiremu Kingi, alias William King, is one of the chiefs of the Ngatiawa tribe. These people originally dwelt in the district watered by the rivers Waitara and Waiongona, and their two chief strongholds were Pukerangiora on the former stream, Ngapuketuru on the latter. Some time previous to the year 1833, a fishing canoe of the Waikatoes, a tribe dwelling a little to the north of them, was driven ashore near Waitara, when the wrecked crew were cruelly killed and eaten. In revenge for this, the Waikatoes, led by their great chief, Te Whero Whero, soon afterwards made a fell swoop on the Ngatiawa; stormed their fortress at Pukerangiora, pitched over the cliff, tomahawked, and slew some eleven hundred men, women, and children, picked out some two or three hundred of the most likely prisoners for slaves, devoured the rest, and then followed up the fugitives to Muturoa, a stronghold lying about ten miles to the south, to which they had fled. Here, the remnant of the Ngatiawa, under the generalship of an old whaler (11), who had married a Ngatiawa beauty, made a better fight of it—but at last, partly in despair of being able to hold out, partly in despair of ever finding the country a safe residence again now that they had received such a terrible but provoked first chastisement from their Waikato neighbours, they determined to abandon the district and seek a new location to the south. Accordingly, they made a clever night escape, when the Waikatoes, satisfied with the blood they had got, and the new territory they had conquered, drew off their forces and returned home in triumph with their Ngatiawa plunder and their Ngatiawa slaves.

Before this Waikato storm actually burst on them, however, a few of the more timid or far-sighted of the Ngatiawa seem to have fancied that there was danger brewing in the Waikato

sky; and as they had learnt that the country around Waikanae, in Cook's Straits, was not occupied by any powerful tribe, and as Waikanae, and Kapite, and Otaki, were becoming considerable whaling and trading stations, they resolved to steal off to that neighbourhood, and put three hundred miles of good ground between themselves and their incensed Waikato neighbours, while there was time. William King was one of this wary section of the tribe; and he had led a party of his followers down the coast, and established himself at Waikanae, some time before that terrible Waikato blow, which he had probably foreseen, fell on his people at Pukerangiora. When, therefore, the fugitives from the siege of Muturoa made their night escape, the majority of them naturally (12) turned their feet to Waikanae, where, as we have seen, a few of the more prudent of their tribe had already found a home. Attacked by several tribes on their way, but still led by Barrett, and two or three old whalers and men-of-war's men, they fought their way down the coast, and eventually reached Waikanae, and there rested a while after the labours of their flight.

Some of them settled at Waikanae with William King; others, disliking the country, moved across the Strait to Queen Charlotte's Sound; while others, again, under other chiefs, hired a vessel to carry them to the Chatham Isles, famous for eels, where they at once gave battle to the weak islanders, killed and cooked a portion of their victims on the spot, reduced the rest to slavery in a week, and took possession of the country by right of might (13).

Though, however, the remnant of the Ngatiawa tribe thus found or seized new homes, they were much dispersed: some were at the Sugar Loaves, some at Waikanae, some in the Sound, some at the Chathams, some slaves in Waikato; and when the colonisation of the country commenced, and Colonel Wakefield and the pioneer Settlers appeared in Cook's Straits, in 1840, the Ngatiawa were found to be a poor, reduced, broken people, shunning all mention of "Pukerangiora" and "Muturoa," and still trembling at the name of Te Whero Whero, Te Katī, and Waikato.

Colonel Wakefield was the representative of the New Zealand Company, whose colonising operations have been described in Chapter II. His arrival in the Tory, with his staff of officers, and his native interpreter, created a profound sen-

sation among the the Cook's Strait tribes. They were naturally delighted at the idea that English Settlements and English trade, which had done so much to enrich their fellows in the north, were at last to start up in their own neighbourhood; and when it became known that Colonel Wakefield was desirous of purchasing land on which to plant his little Settlements, and that under the beneficent provision in the scheme of the New Zealand Company's colonisation one-tenth part of all land purchased would be set aside as the unalienable estate of the natives (14), various chiefs of the Cook's Strait tribes, prominent among whom we find William King, eagerly opened negotiations with him for the sale of portions of their respective tribal lands lying at Wellington, Nelson, Wairau, Manawatu, Wanganui, and Taranaki. Barrett, who has been mentioned as the fighting leader of the Ngatiawa, had taken service with Colonel Wakefield as a sort of assistant interpreter, and he spoke so highly of the splendid Taranaki country from which the Ngatiawa had been driven a few years before, and which was now all but a perfect solitude, that Colonel Wakefield, wanting a district on which he might plant the New Plymouth Settlement, was induced to receive proposals from William King (15), and the Waikanae natives, and from the Resident natives at Muturoa (described in note 12), for the purchase of such portion of this their old unoccupied country, some 70,000 acres, *including the Waitara*, as lay between a certain stream called the Taniwa and the islets called the Sugar Loaves.

Strangers as they were, and but slightly informed as to native customs, Colonel Wakefield and his advisers, even when this land was first offered them, seem to have doubted whether the Ngatiawa tribe had not lost their right and title to sell any portion of the Ngatiawa country through force of their conquest and ejection by the Waikatoes. But as William King and the Resident Natives contended that the land was still Ngatiawa land because the Waikatoes had never *occupied* it, Colonel Wakefield purchased of them this block of 70,000 acres—or, rather, we should say, purchased it so far as William King and the Resident Natives could sell it; for no sooner did the news of the transaction reach Te Whero Whero, who had been one of the first to welcome Governor Hobson and the pioneer Settlers at

Auckland, than he indignantly declared that he would not sanction it; that Waitara and Waiongona, and Sugar Loaves, and Muturoa, belonged, both by the sacred and immemorial right of conquest, and by the Waitangi Treaty (16), just made with the British Government, to the Waikatoes, and that the quibble that the land was not Waikato land because Waikato had never cared to occupy it was one worthy of the pettifogging cravens who had dared to make it. The missionary officials attached to Captain Hobson's government, who were the responsible exponents of Maori law, declared that the Waikato right was good; and Te Whero Whero's thunder was so loud, his bands so numerous, that poor Colonel Wakefield instantly saw that no European Settlement would be safe if planted at New Plymouth without Te Whero Whero's consent. William King and the Ngatiawa, wilfully or not, had deceived him, and obtained his money under what had proved te be false pretences—but his desire in coming to New Zealand to purchase land was not, niggardly, to save a few hundreds or a few thousands of the Company's money—it was to procure the fullest and most perfect "right and title" to the lands he bought that he could procure; and as Te Whero Whero had asserted his title to New Plymouth rather to defend the rights of his people than to extort money for them, and as the missionary officials counselled Colonel Wakefield to extinguish the Waikato claim by purchase, an arrangement was eventually effected, and a formal deed was drawn up by the Crown officers, and signed by the two great Waikato chiefs Te Kati and Te Whero Whero, by which they made over to the Queen the whole of the New Plymouth country, extending even from Tongapourutu to Waitotara (17).

Thus, the New Plymouth land was at last acquired, and the little Settlement, planted in the beautiful solitude by the handful of Devonshire and Cornish Settlers who formed its earliest pioneers, took root, and looked for a time as if it would grow and flourish; but there was a worm at the heart of this young plant of colonisation—a worm ever sapping its vigour, ever dwarfing its growth—a worm, let us hope, which, after battening on the plant for twenty years, will now soon be cut out and crushed.

When Col. Wakefield's exploring ship visited New Plymouth, in order to see what the country was like, there were found in

the whole of the magnificent wilderness only the few Resident Natives, some 50 odd, described in note (12). A native population, however, soon appeared on the spot when once New Plymouth was fairly founded. This old country of the Ngatiawa was no longer a desolate wilderness where, should Ngatiawa villages again arise, they might any day be swept down by the tomahawks of the Waikato. New Plymouth had become a British Settlement, where Ngatiawa might dwell in peace, and where, moreover, they might drive a thriving trade. These considerations soon began to operate: various parties of the fugitives who had fled from the Waikatoes to Cook's Straits now returned to New Plymouth; and the Waikatoes, now that they had successfully asserted their right to the conquered country, and taken Colonel Wakefield's payment for it, seem to have looked more kindly on the captives they had made at Pukerangiora, and now liberated many of their slaves. These naturally flocked back to the good quarters the White man had made for them at New Plymouth; and the slaves from Waikato, and the returned fugitives from Cook's Straits, were joined, from time to time, by so many kinsmen from the Taranaki people, and by so many outcasts and desperadoes from other tribes, that in 1843—the year when the whole of the Cook's Strait natives, as described in Chapter II., were incited to repudiate Colonel Wakefield's purchases, and the Land Court was approaching—the New Plymouth natives were found to have increased from about 50 to 500.

This increase of population would have been most welcome to the Colonists, if the new comers, who had sought citizenship with them, had been content to settle down into orderly industrial members of the mixed community. Indeed, the Natives had proved so useful for a time to the pioneer Colonists of Wellington, that when the Pioneers of New Plymouth first saw their new home there were two, and only two, subjects of complaint among them—the one that New Plymouth had no Harbour, the other that it had no Natives. For some time, indeed, the New Plymouth natives seemed as if they would justify the good opinion the Settlers had formed of them: they took contracts for clearing land, brought their pigs and potatoes to the stores, and presented every indication of becoming friendly fellow-labourers in the work of planting and extending the little Settlement

which had been formed, and where, thanks to the White man, they might now dwell in peace and security, undisturbed by fear or thought of Te Whero Whero, Te Kati, or Waikato.

But, ignorant of the meaning of gratitude, prompted by the short-sighted greed of gain common to savages, aware of the feeling entertained for the Company and the Company's Settlers by the Missionary government at Auckland, the New Plymouth natives soon threw off the mask; and by degrees, as they found themselves becoming the stronger party, commenced annoying the Settlers by petty trespasses, insults, and threats; refused to accept the ample native reserves which had been set aside for them, took forcible possession of the whole of the Waitara and threatened that on the arrival of the coming Missionary Land Court* they would wrest from the Settlers every acre of the little fields the Settlers had planted at Waiongona, Waiwaikaiho, and Mongaraka.

In 1844 the Land Court came, and the farce of trying whether the White man or the Black man was the legal owner of certain New Zealand wild land was again performed as it had been at Wellington and elsewhere. Here, however, despite a great deal of equivocation, subterfuge, and convenient forgetfulness on the part of our Maori friends, the Judge, Mr. Commissioner Spain, ventured to pronounce judgment against them, and the next day the Settlement was in an uproar. Knowing that they would go into this Court with the warmest sympathies of the missionary officials who had established the Court, they were furious at the verdict, and instantly declared their intention of treating it with contempt. The Court, in pronouncing its "award" against the New Plymouth natives, had only agreed with the missionary officials, consulted by Colonel Wakefield four years before, that by the Treaty of Waitangi and by the native laws which that Treaty recognised, the New Plymouth District belonged to Te Whero Whero and his Waikatoes, who, by formal deed of sale, had sold it to the Europeans, and that the Ngatiawa had lost their right by and through their defeat, slavery, and flight. The Court, bound, as it expressed itself, to pronounce such judgment by the Maori

* See page 35.

Magna Charta, the Treaty of Waitangi, the treaty by which the Court itself existed, went on to say, that if any section of the Ngatiawa had preserved a right, it was the Resident Natives, who had never fled, and not the Returned Slaves, or the Cook's Strait Fugitives. That these Resident Natives and, indeed, the Cook's Strait Natives, had sold any right they might have retained to Colonel Wakefield; and that, as there was an abundance of fine land in the native reserves and in contiguous unoccupied districts for Resident natives, for Returned slaves, for Fugitives, for all—land enough indeed for a hundred times their numbers (18)—the Natives had better settle down quietly to their own cultivations, and leave the White man free to do the same. But the Court's judgment and advice were no judgment or advice for them. The Wairau massacre had just occurred.* They had seen that Rauperaha might repudiate the sale of a district, and that after murdering a British magistrate and a British officer in cold blood, and shooting down some thirty white men in the course of such repudiation, the missionary authorities had only begged an interview with the murderer and expressed a hope that he would not be so violent again.

This was sufficient. Resident Natives, Returned Slaves, Cook's Straits Runaways, Taranaki Kinsmen, Outcasts and Desperadoes from other Tribes, the whole of our heterogeneous mob of Natives, not a fourth of whom would ever have dared to set foot in New Plymouth had not the White man's gold appeased the Waikato lion, made mock of Judge, and Court, and Judgment. They would have all the land back again, or know the reason why; and trespasses, war-speeches, insults to the Settlers, were so redoubled, that it became evident that at any moment a spark might be lit which would wrap the whole Settlement in flame. The Court's inconvenient award, and the critical state of things resulting from it, were soon made known to the Governor, Capt. Fitzroy, and his missionary counsellors at Auckland; and now we were to have a specimen of the injustice or the pusillanimity of missionary policy in New Zealand worthy to rank with the Absolution of the Murderer of Wairau.

* See page 38.

We have seen that Governor Hobson and his missionary counsellors had judicially declared that the Waikatoes, and not the Ngatiawas, were the owners of New Plymouth and, as such, Governor Hobson had bought New Plymouth of them; and every person, familiar with the A B C of Maori law, knows now that Governor Hobson was right. But Governor Hobson, enough imbued as he was with the spirit of the then Colonial Missionary Office, described in Chapter II., was but a feeble representative of missionary policy as compared with his successor, Governor Fitzroy. Governor Fitzroy had been despatched to New Zealand by the Missionary Society, and Exeter Hall, to see that that poor, converted lamb, the Maori, was not robbed of his lands and driven from his bible by the rapacious Settler. He had triumphantly upheld the policy of his patrons in winking at the murder of a Queen's magistrate and a Queen's officer at Wairau, and he was not going to depart from it at New Plymouth. Like all men in power, he had no difficulty in finding tools wherewith to work his will, and certain special pleaders were soon found among his officials who declared that Governor Hobson's Maori law expounders were wrong, and that New Plymouth belonged to the Ngatiawa, and not to the Waikato, because Waikato had never occupied it.* On this, His Excellency Governor Fitzroy came to New Plymouth—called a public meeting of the Settlers; denounced them as all but trespassers on the little farms they had cleared; boasted that he had not even read the Court's judgment, but that from its manifest injustice he had at once determined to set it aside; asserted that Governor Hobson's purchase of the district from the Waikato was worth nothing, inasmuch as the Waikato had no power to sell; that Colonel Wakefield's purchase from the resident Ngatiawa was worth nothing, inasmuch as the resident Ngatiawa had no power to sell; affirmed that every acre of the district had always belonged, and did then actually belong, to the Ngatiawa; and told the Settlers that if he could not succeed in purchasing a small block of land from the true representatives of the tribe (the returned slaves and Cook's Straits fugitives, who as he alleged were now, and now for the first time, on the spot)

* See note 16

he should break up the Settlement, and move the people to Auckland.

Seeing that Governor Hobson, and his missionary expounders of Maori law, had decided that by virtue of the Treaty of Waitangi the *Waikatoes* were the rightful owners of New Plymouth—seeing that the Land Court had judicially pronounced the same judgment—seeing that the Waikatoes had made over New Plymouth to the Queen—seeing that at least a portion of the Ngatiawa had sold the land, and that there was an abundance of land left for those false claimants of the district who were no parties to such sale—seeing these things, Captain Fitzroy's course should have been this:—He should have requested Te Whero Whero, and two or three other Waikato chiefs, to accompany him to New Plymouth, called a meeting of the natives, placed Te Whero Whero on his right-hand side, and told them this—"that New Plymouth belonged to Te Whero Whero, who had sold it to the Queen, and that Te Whero Whero was there to hear what man of Ngatiawa would dare to question either his ownership of the district or his right to sell it—that he, Captain Fitzroy, their second governor, agreed with Te Whero Whero and their first governor, that the Ngatiawa owned no acre of New Plymouth—yet still, as the Government wished to deal kindly and liberally with them, the Government had set aside some thousands of acres of land for them, besides all their gardens, villages, and burial-places—that surrounding the Settlement, there were thousands of acres of magnificent land also lying ready for their use—and that if they behaved well, and would settle down into industrial members of the community, the Government would make them an annual present of live stock, implements, and seed, and build them a model village, a hospital, and an industrial school."

I apprehend that at the present day no one would question that such a course would have been the best one, or that such a course would have been crowned with success, or at least that such a course might have been tried. But such a course was not Captain Fitzroy's course—he was not equal to the occasion. Dealing with a Company opposed by the Colonial Office, blinded by maudlin sympathy for "oppressed slaves," spurred on by the missionary clique, he came to judg-

ment in a spirit which soon stripped the unfortunate Settlers of their land, and dispossessed the colonisers of New Zealand of the finest territory they had ever acquired.

The exultation of the natives at the Governor's decision was unbounded: they had got a ruler who had made light of the murder of the white men at Wairau, who had carried them along triumphant in their dog-in-the-manger policy at New Plymouth; and unquestionably if Captain Fitzroy's missionary friends had bethought them of getting up a testimonial in his favour from the New Plymouth Natives every one of them would have put his mark to the paper with both hands.

Governor Fitzroy's announcement, however, that without he could buy of them a small block of land into which he might move the Settlers, he should break up the Settlement, and move the people to Auckland, rather alarmed them. To lose the White man and the White man's shops and stores was the last thing they wanted; if he went, who was to buy their produce, and sell them blankets and tobacco in return? Again, if the White man went, might not Waikato come back, and teach them the fable of King Log and King Stork? They were not going to lose the Settlers, they valued them too much as tame traders, and they instantly agreed to sell Captain Fitzroy a patch of some 3000 acres round the village. Captain Fitzroy bought this patch —compelled all the Settlers to abandon their cultivations, and move into it—gave them his parting benediction, and left them to make the best of their position, and to ponder on the merits of the missionary government which ruled them. The Natives were now on their best behaviour: they had reduced New Plymouth to what they would call a model colony, that is a little Settlement where a handful of Europeans, hemmed in by the Maori, shall possess a few hundred acres of land, and give the Maori sugar, and hardware, and blankets, and tobacco, in exchange for pigs, and potatoes, and firewood, and flax kits. Some of the Settlers now left New Plymouth, while others, in the hope that some day or other their narrow boundaries might be extended, set themselves down to cultivate the few acres they had obtained—and, thus, New Plymouth, for two or three years, remained the quiet little cabbage garden to which it had been reduced.

At last, as described in Chapter II., Governor Fitzroy, happily relieved from the cares of government, was superseded by Sir George Grey, who was unable to visit New Plymouth before the year 1847. Instructed by Mr. Gladstone (19), he had, however, duly informed himself of the merits of the New Plymouth Land Question, and had come prepared to do his best in it to promote the interests of both races. The views he had formed were in harmony with those of the Settlers. Both saw that though Governor Hobson and the Land Court were right in declaring that New Plymouth belonged to the Waikato, yet that as Governor Fitzroy had declared that it belonged to the Ngatiawa, and had recognised the Ngatiawa right by the practical measures he had adopted, it would be unwise to reopen the vexed question, and that the best policy was to assume that Governor Fitzroy was right, and that the Ngatiawa *were* the true owners of the district. But both saw that as some more land than the little Town Block which Governor Fitzroy had procured was absolutely necessary if the Settlement were to be maintained, it was desirable to open negociations with the Natives for the purchase of a few thousand additional acres of the unused country lying around such Town Block. This course was adopted: the Governor held several meetings with the Natives, at which he represented to them that if they refused to sell more land New Plymouth must be abandoned, inasmuch as it was impossible that a British settlement could be maintained on a piece of land not larger than two good farms.

The Natives were shrewd enough to see the force of His Excellency's arguments—they had observed that some of the Settlers had already left, that some of the stores had already been closed, that markets were becoming worse, and money scarce. They had learnt, too, that missionary policy was no longer to pat them on the back and wink at murder, and that Sir George Grey's government was to be supported by a military force. They trimmed their conduct accordingly, and agreed to sell the Governor some 25,000 acres of land, useless to themselves, and five-sixths of which when it came to be surveyed was found to be timber land of the heaviest descrip-

tion, utterly unfit for the plough. This, however, was the only land they would sell—a little of it could be used, a little was better than none, and the Settlers went to work on it in the hope that some day the Natives would see their own interests more clearly, and consent to part with a portion of the magnificent wilderness lying between the rivers Waiwaikaiho and Waitara.

The little Settlement still, thus compressed, could make no progress: the handful of Settlers who had remained could till their little fields and raise produce enough to subsist on; but there was no land for new comers, emigration was never renewed, and while every other Settlement in New Zealand was exhibiting a large annual increase of populatiou New Plymouth remained stationary, and counted but few more people in 1848 than she had done in 1842.

At last, in 1853, it seemed as if better days were dawning. Rawiri, an intelligent chief of the Ngatiawa, owning some fine land near the Mongaraka, seeing that this dearth of land among the Settlers was injurious alike to both races, and piqued by a private quarrel, opened negotiations with the Government for the sale of a portion of his territory. The Government eventually bought it, and in just compliment to a gentleman who had been mainly instrumental in completing the sale, Francis Dillon Bell, named it the "Bell Block." As Rawiri, however, and a party of his men were proceeding one morning to cut the boundaries, they were shot down by Kakatoré and a party of his followers, who were lying in ambush for them. Kàtatoré was a petty chief of the same tribe who, like William King (20), was opposed to the sale of land, and who had threatened Rawiri that he would take his life if he ventured to complete the sale. In revenge of this foul murder, Rawiri's party besieged Katatoré's Pah, and for nearly a year there was exhibited in a British settlement the spectacle of two parties of natives of the same tribe carrying on a murderous war against each other within sight of the Queen's Court and Custom House (21). At last, Katatoré was slain, when the quarrel was considered at an end, and no further opposition was offered to the occupation of the Bell Block.

Governor Gore Browne arrived in New Zealand in 1855, and

in the course of various "progresses" which he made through the colony to see the different Settlements and inform himself as to the local affairs of each, he visited New Plymouth. He found the province of New Plymouth, or Taranaki, as it is now called, possessing an area of upwards of two millions of acres of land, a territory about the twelfth of the size of England. In the whole of this wide country, counting both the Ngatiawa tribe and their allies the Taranaki tribe, there were, of men, women, and children, only some 3000 natives; and of such two millions of acres which these 3000 natives professed to own, they had not, in twenty years, cultivated more than a few patches lying along the coast. The Settlers also numbered about 3000; and in the twentieth year after their arrival the Government had only been able or willing to purchase for them some 40,000 acres, one-fourth only of which was found to be available for profitable cultivation.

Thus, there were nearly two millions of acres of waste land in the province which the Natives neither used nor made any pretence of using, and which, looking at their small numbers and their *decreasing* numbers, it was humanly certain that they never would use. Governor Browne, however, though, like Governors Hobson, and Grey, and Wynyard, he believed that by the treaty of Waitangi, New Plymouth belonged to the crown by virtue of the Waikato deed of sale, and that Captain Fitzroy had erred in admitting the Ngatiawa claim, did not seek to disturb Captain Fitzroy's decision. At various meetings held from time to time with the Natives and Settlers on the land question, and on the murderous feud which had occurred between the two rival chiefs Rawiri and Katatoré, he declared that he would pursue Sir George Grey's policy—that where any Natives, proved owners of land, deliberately elected to sell it, he would buy it—but that he would not permit any Natives opposed to such sale, and who had no ownership in the land, to interfere—and that if any anti-land selling chief like Katatoré should do as Katatoré did, take up arms to prevent the sale, spill blood in doing so, and disturb the peace of the Settlement by violence and murder, he would apprehend such chief and try him by British law (22).

For some time previous to Governor Browne's arrival in

New Zealand there had been growing up in New Plymouth, among the more intelligent Natives, a party favourable to the sale of land. These men had seen that during a period of many years both the Government and the Settlers had kept good faith with them — they had remarked that at Auckland, Wanganui, Wellington, and Nelson, where the Natives had been wise enough to dispose of larger portions of their useless waste lands, European Settlements and Native Settlements had alike spread and flourished—that, there, both races, dwelling in amity and peace, had mutually strengthened and enriched each other—and they had compared this state of things with that which prevailed at New Plymouth, where they were ever quarrelling among themselves as to the ownership of the tens of thousands of waste acres which surrounded them, and where both races were kept poor and contentious because, and only because, the Native would not sell to the European a portion of that worthless property which he, the Native, would neither suffer to be used, nor could use himself.

Rawiri had been a prominent member of this small but enlightened body. In defiance of the threats of the Anti-land selling party of the tribe, swayed by such men as Katatoré and William King, he had ventured to sell his land to the Government—he had met his death in consequence, and the dastardly policy, for I can give it no other name, of Colonel Wynyard's Government, in purchasing this chief's land, and then in allowing him to be murdered with impunity, was the only reason why his example in defying the King and Katatoré party, by selling land which belonged to him, was not more generally followed by those who, like him, thought that to a certain extent they had a right to do what they pleased with their own. When, however, Governor Gore Browne had the manliness to declare that he would suffer no clique or party in the tribe to interfere between the Queen and the owners of any land who might elect to sell it, the Rawiri party were re-encouraged, and eventually Te Teira, a chief residing at Waitara, with about sixty followers, decided on offering to the Government a piece of land which he and his ancestors had long possessed there.

William King, who, as we have seen in note 20, had now

returned to Waitara, William King, who was one of the first to abandon the possessions of his tribe, and one of the last to venture back when the White man had made the place a safe residence for him, had long been covertly promoting that Anti-land selling conspiracy which had been formed in the New Plymouth country. It was he who had welcomed Tamati Reina at the Waitara, (29) when this man made his tour from Wellington to New Plymouth, in order to organize a Land-league party; he who had incited or supported Katatoré in the deed of murdering Rawiri; he who had intrigued against Ihiah; he who had insulted Governor after Governor; and who had ever bragged from the day he had taken heart and ventured to show his face again at Waitara that no Pakeha should ever own a rood or till an acre there.

Much angry discussion had ensued between Te Teira and William King respecting the determination of the former to sell his land. Te Teira declared that he would do as Rawiri had done—sell what was his own. King pointed to Rawiri and his fate, and warned him that he had better not. And if Governor Browne had suffered King and Teira to fight their quarrel out at Watiara, as Governor Wynyard had suffered Katatoré and Rawiri to fight their quarrel out at Mongaraka, there can be little doubt that both leaders and a few of their followers would soon have been knocked on the head, and that this Waitara land would have passed to the Crown much as the Bell Block at Mongaraka had passed to the Crown.

If the miserable question of the mere acquisition of a few hundred acres of land by the British Government had been the real question at issue on the banks of the Waitara; this "laissez faire" course of Governor Wynyard's might have been the most politic course. But this was *not* the question at Waitara—the intrinsic value of the few acres of land there was nothing greater than the intrinsic value of the few shillings levied on Hampden for ship money—there was a great principle at stake. Were two bands of Natives again to be allowed to murder each other in a British Settlement in utter contempt and defiance of British law? Was the Maori King Movement, only another name for the Waitara Quarrel—a Movement organised and prosecuted in utter defiance of that Treaty of Waitangi

which for twenty years had dictated the relations of the two races; a Movement which had torn down the Queen's flag and hoisted a rebel banner in its place; a Movement which might provoke an exterminating war of races, and desolate the finest colony the Crown had ever possessed—to be winked at and suffered to grow and fester to its full proportions?—or was an attempt to be made, while an attempt *could* be made, to stop it, and teach our misguided savages that in 1860 it was high time that British rule should make itself felt in a British colony planted in 1840, and that their loud prayers in the market place should no longer excuse their murderous violence in the bush, nor their lacquer of religion any longer mask their defiance of the law?

*These* were the questions which Governor Browne and his ministerial advisers had to ask themselves when they met in Council to decide whether or not they would purchase Teira's land. They decided on doing so. Despite the knowledge they possessed that a large and influential section of the Missionary party, composed of such men as Archdeacon Hadfield, would leave nothing undone to obstruct their policy and to misrepresent and villify their motives both among the Natives and in certain influential quarters in England—despite their knowledge that if any quarrel at Taranaki should provoke a war it might prove a war of a very serious and costly character, they decided on purchasing Te Teira's land. They decided that if some semblance of law and order could not be enforced and preserved in the Colony without an appeal to the sword they would mercifully appeal to the sword—and I assert, and I feel that the vast majority of my readers must support me in the assertion, that the decision which Governor Browne and his ministerial advisers arrived at was a most manly and a most righteous decision—one which their regard for both races, their duty to the colony and the Queen, imperatively commanded them to adopt. (24.)

Aware of the gravity of the issue, the Government proceeded in their course with all possible care and deliberation. Months were spent in investigating Te Teira's title—it was found to be unimpeachable—numerous meetings were held with the Natives —William King was present—at two of these he formally admitted that the land was Teira's (25)—but swore, again, that he

would not suffer him to sell it—the purchase-money was paid down—again and again was William King cautioned not to interfere—he turned the adder's ear—the survey was slowly commenced—it was stopped by this misguided man—troops were marched to the spot, and the Taranaki war commenced. (26.)

Of troops, naval brigade, militia and rifle volunteers, an effective force of some 2000 men has gradually been organised at New Plymouth. The force of rebel Natives, made up, at present, of William King and his Waitara band, of the murderous Taranaki tribe, described in note 8, and of various Land-league and Maori King Natives from Waikato, banded with turbulent young Natives anxious for a fight, and desperadoes, and others, described at page 451, who have joined the fray through love of blood and hopes of plunder, may also number 2000 men (27). Four or five smart skirmishes have been fought; and the loss on our side has been about 100. The Natives have probably lost as many more; but, owing to the bad handling of the troops, and our new commander's excusable ignorance of Maori tactics, and bush fighting, the rebels have hitherto had the best of it. With the exception of two or three stockades at Waitara and elsewhere, it may be said that the whole of the rural district has been abandoned to them—five-sixths of the farm-houses and homesteads have been burnt down or sacked—*twenty-two were counted blazing in one day;* and the value of the property destroyed and stolen, and of the stock driven off or wantonly slaughtered, probably amounts to full 200,000*l.* The long-suffering Settlers, at whose cost this great question of the further colonisation of New Zealand is being fought out, and the majority of the troops are fortified in the town—the women and children have been sent away to the care of the noble Colonists of Nelson—and the hardy and much-enduring little Settlement of New Plymouth, long the garden of New Zealand, has, for the day, been all but annihilated by storm of rebel war.

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This I believe, is, a true account of William King and his tribe, and a correct sketch of what is familiar to all of us in New Zealand, as the "New Plymouth Land Question."

What can be said for William King and the Waitara rebels? If it be asserted that the Taranaki War is a war springing, not

from local causes, but from a determination on the part of certain disaffected Natives to emancipate themselves from British rule, and to set up a Native king, what can be urged in palliation of it? For nearly a quarter of a century, Government, Missionaries, Natives, have agreed to take and interpret the Treaty of Waitangi as the "Charta" which should prescribe and regulate the relations of the two races—the great "Charta" under which the colonisation of the country should commence and proceed, and, by this Treaty, the Natives, in consideration of being guaranteed their "possessions," made over the sovereignty of New Zealand to the Queen. We have seen, by the remarks made at page 33, that a most liberal, a most ludicrously liberal, interpretation was given to the word "possessions;" and that the British Government of the day solemnly declared that every acre of a country as large as the United Kingdom belonged, equitably and legally belonged, to a decreasing handful of savages who did not use, who never had used, who could never hope to use, one acre in a thousand of it; and whose chief title to the immense wilderness they had been incited to claim, arose from the accidental circumstance of their happening to be born in it. We have seen by the remarks at page 442, that the obligations imposed on us by this Treaty, farciful as the Treaty was, have been sacredly fulfilled; and while observing the *letter* of it in paying the Natives for every acre of land we till, we have acted in the *spirit* of it by providing them with missionary establishments, with hospitals, with training schools; and by endowing them with agricultural and mechanical knowledge, and a hundred gifts of civilisation nowhere mentioned in our bond. Natives who plot "King Leagues" and "Land Leagues" in New Zealand, and take up arms to execute their designs, can offer no shadow of excuse for their conduct. If in the Mother Country bands of infatuated Welshmen were now to take arms, proclaim a Welsh king, and murderously prevent the people of Monmouthshire or Salop from selling lands for the purposes of an approaching English railway, the natives of the Principality would, substantially, have just as much, and just as little, cause for their revolt and aggressions as have the natives of Taranaki, Waikato, and

Taupo. And if the Taranaki War is to be regarded as a war springing from general King-Movement and Land-League causes it must everywhere be admitted to be a war which William King and his confederates have wickedly and deliberately provoked.

If, on the other hand, we consent to take Mr. Hadfield's view of the war, and to view it as a war springing from purely local causes, what, even then, can be said for William King? Of our five Governors in New Zealand—counselled and instructed as they have been by missionary advisers—no fewer than four have pronounced that New Plymouth belonged to the *Waikato* tribe, and that the Ngatiawa had lost all right or title thereto; while we see that the Land Court (a Court specially constituted by the Home Government and the missionary party) judicially pronounced the same decision. But no Governor, no Minister, no Court, no Colonist, ever wished practically to enforce against the Ngatiawa their own law, which declares that a conquered tribe *driven* from a district *loses* that district. To every man of common humanity and common sense, there was something repulsive in the idea that though the Ngatiawa might have provoked the Waikato attack, yet that the bloody success of the Waikatoes, their cannibal feasts, their strings of slaves, was to be taken by Englishmen as a pretext for depriving the Ngatiawa of their lands—we purchased a small portion of them and entreated them to make beneficial use of the rest. By the Waikato deed of purchase, the Queen was the rightful owner of New Plymouth—but the Queen never exercised, nor ever attempted to exercise, any rights of ownership derived from such purchase. The Queen and the Settlers virtually gave back to the Ngatiawa the whole of the district of which they had been deprived; and, as we have seen in the course of this narrative, every acre which the Settlers tilled in Taranaki had been acquired of the Ngatiawa by way of friendly purchase. Neither can it be alleged that the Settlers were greedy of land, or had manifested any disposition to leave the Natives without a sufficiency.* As before observed, the Province of Taranaki contains over two millions of acres, and, till quite lately, counted a native population of about 3000, and a European population

of about 3000. The 3000 Natives possess the two millions of acres—the 3000 Settlers, in the twentieth year of their settlement, possess less than forty thousand acres—and it is not the slightest exaggeration to say that the Natives have no more chance of ever requiring a tenth part of their two millions of acres than the people of Cornwall or Kent have of ever requiring Kamschatka or Cathay.

It was long provoking enough to the New Plymouth Settlers to find that such a handful of Natives, having such an immense territory, should so play the part of the dog in the manger; especially when they recollected that they had virtually given back this territory to such handful of Natives, and that scarce one of them would have dared to dwell in it had not Settlers, civilisation, and the British flag, made it a safe dwelling-place for them. But provocation in the matter of the land was made no ground for treating the Natives with hostility or harshness. I challenge Mr. Hadfield to point to any Settlement in New Zealand where the White men have shown greater consideration for the Natives than at New Plymouth. Two or three active missionary establishments have been maintained for them; several schools and a native hospital (the finest building in the Province) have been provided for them; and for twenty years the Settlement has offered them a lucrative market for their produce; while it is notorious that there is no part of New Zealand where the Natives have been so utterly exempt from any galling restraint of British law. In fact, in New Plymouth, as in every other part of New Zealand, the Natives, well and kindly treated by the Colonists, have been patted, and petted, and coaxed, and remonstrated with, and mildly entreated, and prayed over by Governor after Governor and missionary after missionary till, like the pampered hound, they have turned and bitten; and if anything can now arrest their headlong downward course, it will be the bitter tonic of a most merited and a most thorough thrashing.

But, provoking as was the dogged refusal of the Natives to sell land; strange as might be the spectacle of Natives, who for twenty years had inflicted such injuries on the Settlement, being well treated by the Settlement; anomalous as was the whole state of things at New Plymouth; it was a state of

things which might have continued for years had not a new element been imported into it. The Ngatiawa might have gone on selling, and the Settlers might have gone on buying, little plots and patches of land between 1860 and 1870, as they had done between 1840 and 1850,—but when the tribe quarrelled among themselves, and divded into two camps, the one anxious to sell a portion of their waste lands, the other declaring they would allow no such portion to be sold, the torpid New Plymouth land question instantly brought forth a new feature which at once burst out in an eruption of war. If William King had been still content to advance no further in 1860 than he had done in the ten years previous—that is, if he had been content to decline selling a rood of his own thousands of acres of unused barren land—his detractors might have called him a muddle-headed fool, who was losing the substance in grasping the shadow, and who in respect to his possession of any civilised knowledge did little credit to his missionary tutors—but they could not have *quarrelled* with him: he was merely doing what he liked with his own. But, in 1860, backed, as we have seen, by thousands of Land-League and Maori-King plotters, and incited to resistance by bigoted and meddlesome missionaries of the Exeter Hall and Hadfield stamp, he ventured a vast stride farther, and declared *that not only would he not sell his own land, but that he would suffer no other owner of land to sell an acre.* All doubts which, despite the care taken by the Government to ascertain that Teira's title was good, might have arisen in certain quarters as to Teira's real ownership of the land he sold, are swept away by King's bragging declaration *that the land is Te Teira's, but that he, William King, Rangitaké, will not permit Teira and his party to sell it!*

What is this—is it not something revolting to common justice and to common sense? Secretly suspecting that no substantial excuse can be made for him on the plea of part ownership of the land, Mr. Hadfield and the missionary clique who defend William King, and Mr. Fox, and his patriotic "tail of three" who would make this Taranki war a mere stepping-stone to power, have endeavoured to show that William King as a chief of the tribe, possessed the right of "Mana," that is, the power to forbid the alienation of any of the tribal lands. The highest authorities in

New Zealand on Maori laws and customs—Mr. MacLean, and other Native commissioners, Mr. Francis Dillon Bell, and other members of the House of Representatives, the Rev. Mr. Buddle, the Rev. Mr. Whiteley, and many of the oldest Wesleyan missionaries—declare that such a thing as this "Mana," set up as it now is for a case like William King's, is a thing utterly *unknown* in Maori Law; and it may very reasonably be said, that if Mr. Fox or Mr. Forsaith now claimed to practise *Droit de cuissage* among their New Zealand tenantry because the Barons, their ancestors, might once have enjoyed the Gallows Right in England, they would claim no more, and no less, for themselves than they now claim for William King in seeking to cover him with their rag of "Mana." Fearing to be driven from "part ownership" plea, fearing to be driven from "Mana," Mr. Hadfield and Mr. Fox plead for their client *ad misericordiam*, and point to his loyalty in Cook's Straits, and to his custom of bell-ringing and matutinal ceremony of prayer.

But it is asserted that in Cook's Straits William King did little more than preserve an armed neutrality, or that he did no more than shout with what he believed might soon grow into the biggest mob—while as to his *conversion*, truth and indignation reply that his conversion is but a mask; and that though, parrot like, he can repeat the Lord's Prayer, he is the sanctified savage whose fit allies murdered our boys at Omata, and who, at Wataira, sent out the young weasels of his brood to brain our wounded soldiers on the field.

Glancing back, then, at the New Plymouth Land Question, and at King's history and proceedings, I assert that, whether the Taranaki War be viewed as a war springing from *Local causes*, or from *Maori-King and Land-League causes*, or from a combination of both, it is, in either, or in any case, a war which William King has wickedly provoked—a war which he has commenced with atrocities worthy of the Maori's most barbarous days, and a war which, if the Queen is to reign in New Zealand and the North Island is to be preserved as a British colony, must not be stopped by any "*preces armitæ*" of the Natives, or by any maudlin sentimentality of Missionary bigots of the Hadfield school—but

one which must be prosecuted till William King and his murderous allies from the South shall sue for peace and pardon (28), and offer an ample indemnification in land for the property they have destroyed, and for the losses they have so wantonly inflicted on the long-forbearing Settlers of Taranaki.

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## Our Future Native Policy.

Anterior to our taking any effectual measures for civilising and preserving the Maori race, there are now two things absolutely necessary to be accomplished: the war with William King must be prosecuted until he sues for peace—and there must be stationed in New Zealand such a military and naval force, backed by Colonial Militia and Rifle Rangers, as shall prove to the Maori that we are the stronger Power.

If we are sincere in our declaration that we wish to preserve the Maori race, and gradually raise it to an equality with our own, the absolute necessity of proving to them that we are the stronger power will instantly be apparent to every unprejudiced person who has watched the course of events in New Zealand during the last few years. And this necessity may, I think, be made equally apparent to the English reader by supposing for him a case, the like of which, virtually, has occurred in New Zealand a dozen times, and which, if we again attempt to legislate for the Natives without an armed force at our backs, will occur a dozen times more and frustrate the wisest and most benevolent measures we could possibly take for their good. In a tribe of New Zealanders, as in every other community of human beings, there are the good and the bad, the intelligent and the stupid. The former may sometimes predominate: the respectable members of the community may sometimes outnumber the vagabond and the desperate; but, vagabond and desperate there will ever be, and in many a New Zealand tribe the vagabond and the desperate still form the majority. Now a tribe composed of these mixed elements, tired, say, of the insecurity of life and property, or of the tribal troubles, or of the poverty, or of the want of progress, it suffers from under

its old Native regime of Maori customs, petitions the Native Council, presided over, say by Bishop Selwyn, to bring it within the pale of English civilisation and to extend to it British laws. This is done, and done in the most complete and politic manner. To explain and administer the criminal law, Native magistrates sit on the bench with Colonists, the native policeman is present to execute the warrants of the Court, and every possible precaution is humanely taken to prevent the wholesome restraints of British law from galling the new subject whom it is to save. Some case of violence occurs: a robbery, an assault, arson, adultery, leading to murder, and the Bench issues its warrant for the apprehension of the offender. Does not Bishop Selwyn know that without this warrant of the Court were rendered good and valid by the offender's knowledge that there were British bayonets in the distance which, if necessary, would enforce it, he and his fellows, the vagabond and the desperate of the tribe, might tear the warrant up and tomahawk the bearer? And does not the Bishop know that the more enlightened and respectable portion of the tribe, those who had prayed the white man to give them British laws, dare not help the white man to enforce them, because, and only because, they saw that he had no sufficient force at his back to make it clear to all that if the quarrel led to blows, the White man would be able to put down the desperadoes who had thus laughed him and his laws to scorn?

If Bishop Selwyn, and Bishop Abraham, and Archdeacon Hadfield, and the Church Missionary clique, do not know this, they have lived in New Zealand for years with their ears stopped and their eyes shut. But they do know it; and further, they know, or ought to know, that after one or two instances of the wholesome enforcement of British laws had occurred in cases such as I have supposed, there would be no need to employ force, inasmuch as the mere *presence* of the force in the Colony would be sufficient to give us the the active support of half the Natives in bringing the whole colony under British law, and would prevent the other half from obstructing us in the process. The sick or dying child needs medicine, he tastes it, and turns from the cup—but the good physician uses kind force, he makes him take it, and the child is saved;

and kind force must be used to save the Maori against himself. There must be no mistake in this matter. Men in authority, if they do me the honour to read my pages, will, I trust, believe me, when I say that we can now do nothing effectual in New Zealand for the good of both races, save and except we have a strong armed force in the country on which to base our operations.

Redoubled missionary efforts—cargoes of pictorial bibles, multiplication of chapels, translations of Robinson Crusoe, and Jack and the Bean Stalk—redoubled legislative efforts—admission to local parliament, admission to general parliament, Native council, Native magistrate, Native policemen, Native school, Native hospital—will each and all prove useless if we do not first prove to the Maori that while we are a just and merciful race we are a strong and a warlike race—a race as well able to fight as to work, or trade, or talk, or write. Here and there among the Natives, some man of superior intellect may be found who, owing to a long intimacy with families of colonists who would converse with him on some other subjects than his own merits, or salvation, or adult baptism, and the like, has formed a reasonable idea of the strength of the White man; and here and there a Native has personally visited England and seen and measured for himself Portsmouth, Woolwich, and the Guards—yet only to be called a liar on his return. But, except in a burlesque smattering of scriptural knowledge, the New Zealand Natives, intelligent, astute as they are, are really, even now, little other in many important essentials than they were in the days of Tasman and Cook—even now, in many respects, mentally and morally, they are little other than clever, overgrown, turbulent, vicious children—children who have no more idea of the power and resources of the far-off country which would rule them than the savages of Central Africa.

The Church Missionaries, who, in consideration of the great sums lavished on them by the public, might have been expected to attempt to do some public good in New Zealand by imparting to their converts some knowledge of things practical and civil, have been too much engrossed in expatiating to the Native

on the mysteries of the Trinity, the errors of Rome, the heresies of Wesley, to have had much time or inclination to teach the Native anything that would be terrestrially useful to him; and wherever missionary teaching has stooped to things mundane, it has, as before observed, sought chiefly to exalt the Black man and to debase the White.

One marked characteristic of the Maori race is their stupid, Chinese-like contempt for any other race. They sneer at Frenchmen as Wee-Wees, make mock of Englishmen as a people who can work, like beaver-rats, but who can run away like rats, and esteem dark-skinned races so little that I have heard them figuratively boast that they could eat an Australian aboriginal for breakfast, and dispose of a negro for supper. They know that we have soldiers, and gasconade as they may, they would gladly never see a soldier again. But, they believe that we have but few soldiers. They have been told too, that our soldiers are wanted elsewhere, and that the Queen would not again use soldiers in New Zealand. The 58th Regiment was sent away; the 65th, it was rumoured, would follow, and this gave strength to their belief, and confirmation to the reports they had heard. Physical force, the might of the strong arm, they respect—this, they think, comes and goes with the Soldier. Moral force, industry, the wealth of the working arm, they covertly despise—this, they think, and this alone, is the poor possession of the Colonist. We are the busy beavers—they, the warlike wolves—and they will be ruled by none of our Beaver laws till we show that we can enforce them with the Lion's teeth and claws.

Their whole history, in common with the history of all aboriginal races, the whole of our twenty years' intercourse with them, shows that they reverence physical power and esteem it the only qualification for command. For ten years we attempted to live with them without the presence of a Soldier: we trusted to prayers, to mild persuasion, to missionaries, to missionary governors. The dirt they made us eat during this humiliating period is revolting to think of—they committed twenty murders, rose in two rebellions, and sacked a Settlement. Troops appeared, and for the next ten years the Native hid his arms and turned to the plough, and the Colony twice quadrupled her wealth and population. Half the troops are withdrawn—Colonial

Office economy threatens to withdraw the other half—and at once the Colony is in a blaze again, and thousands are brought to the verge of ruin.

Calling in Archdeacon Hadfield as mediator, we might patch up a peace with William King, and express our sorrow for what had happened at Waitara. Despatching Bishop Abraham to Waikato, we might get an apology from the Waikatos for their wanton raid on New Plymouth, and possibly a hundred pigs, as compensation for our slain Soldiers and our slain and wounded Volunteers; and by carefully avoiding all cause of quarrel—by sending every Soldier out of the Colony, and disarming every Volunteer—by declaring that we would seek to buy no acre more of land—by proclaiming that three-fourths of the North Island should be Native territory wherein the Native should do as he pleased—by salarying some of the most turbulent chiefs, and distributing annual presents among others—I have no doubt that, *for a time*, we might stop the King Movement and bribe the Natives to suffer us to reap our little harvests in security and peace. I say *for a time*, for I have as little doubt that if we adopted this missionary policy our temple of Janus would soon be open again:—contempt would lead to insult, concession to demand, unpunished aggression to fresh aggression, until the day would surely come when war would burst out again and lead to results under which the Maori race, as a distinct race of people, would be utterly rooted up and destroyed.

On the other hand, if we will only resolve to adopt a sounder, a more manly, policy; if now that we are in arms we will determine not to lay them down until William King be reduced to unconditional submission; and if the Home Government will grant us such military and naval assistance as, with our Militia and Volunteers, will enable us to maintain a respectable fighting force in the Colony, I have no doubt that, from this vantage ground, our Native Council could frame a series of Native Measures which owing to their intrinsic excellence, and to the circumstance of there being a power in the country to insure them a fair trial, would soon place the relations of the two races on the most harmonious footing, and secure to the Colony a long term of uninterrupted peace, progress, and prosperity.

Convinced, then, that if the North Island of New Zealand is to be preserved as a British Colony, it can now only be preserved by making it the station of a strong Armed Force, it becomes important to consider what *amount* of Force would be necessary to give us that secure base of operations which we want; and to do this, it will be necessary to glance first at the numbers and the fighting strength of the Natives.

By the Native census, taken in 1858, the total Maori population of New Zealand was 56,000—53,000 in the North Island, 3000 in the South—and of this number, 25,000 were males over fourteen years of age. Setting aside aged men and boys, but recollecting that owing to the greater precocity of the race, a Maori boy of sixteen is often as much of a man as a European youth of twenty, we may safely say that there are now in the North Island 20,000 males fit to fight. I am disposed to think that, besides their tomahawks, this body of savages possesses nearly, if not quite, 20,000 stand of arms, many of them being good double-barrelled guns.

This, as to weapons, may seem a high estimate. But we have to recollect that owing to their inherent love of everything connected with the art of war they have ever been solicitous, from Hongi's days downwards, to provide themselves with European weapons. By the sale of their pigs and potatoes, flax, fruits, and slave girls, by their traffic with the fleets of whalers which have long visited their shores, they had acquired many stands of arms even before the regular colonization of the country was commenced. The feuds, active or slumbering, existing between their various tribes, served as a constant stimulus to them to procure single-barrels and double-barrels from the traders and storekeepers who flocked to the North Island when Auckland and New Plymouth, and Wellington, and Wanganui were proclaimed British Settlements. Their skirmishes with the troops at Kororarika, Ruapekapeka, Wellington, and Wanganui, only served to impress on them more strongly than ever the superiority of musket and bayonet over war-club and tomahawk; and Governor Browne's impolitic relaxation of Governor Grey's "Arms Ordinance" enabled them further to gratify their passion for effective war weapons to a calamitous extent. Indeed, Scripture readers

and Missionaries as they are, there has been no period in their history when they would not gladly have given a case of bibles, and sometimes the chapel to boot, for a case of guns, and if any general "Disarmament Act" could now be enforced among them, I fancy that even the best informed of our officials would be astonished at the spectacle of the quantity of arms which the Natives had gradually and quietly collected and put away.

They are not proportionately provided with ammunition; but Mr. Fox asserts, and here I see no reason to question his accuracy, that in the "rush for arms" which took place the moment Sir George Grey's wise restrictions were departed from, they expended, in three years, nearly £50,000 in guns, powder, lead, and caps; so that, looking at their previous stores, and remembering that they scarce fire away an ounce a month in sporting, we shall, I think, be within the mark if we say that they are now in possession of quite 100,000 lbs. of powder.

Formidable in their weapons, they are not weak in their commissariat. It is true that the potato has become almost a necessary luxury to them, and the potato has to be planted, dug, and stored. But a potato patch once planted will bear two or three fair crops in succession. The Maori, too, has thousands of pigs, while we have to recollect that, on a pinch, he can live on the products of the Bush, and get his two meals a day from his wild larder just as he did a hundred years ago. Fern-root and the fern-tree pith, tawa-berry, kiekie and karaka, parrot, pigeon, tui, eel, lamprey, kawai, snapper, dog-fish, are as plentiful as ever; and we may rest assured that if any Maori force ever capitulates through starvation it will be one of the most remarkable surrenders ever recorded in the history of war.

It is a circumstance, too, always to be recollected in estimating the fighting strength of these people, that they have an army works corps, if I may so express it, in their women. In peace, a Maori woman does as much work as the man; she helps to plant and dig the potato, to tend the kumera and the melon. Her arms are strong, her will to work right good. Strapping the flax kit on her shoulders, this amorous Amazon will carry a fourth of the load of a mule through forests that no mule could move in, and in war, save only in meeting the foe in the field, she is to the full as effective as the man. The man, born and bred in the

Bush, familiar from childhood with all woodcraft, strong and supple in limb, seeing like a hawk, going into action, not plastered with pipe-clay or swaddled in clothes, but almost naked as he was born, I hold to be the beau ideal of a Bush soldier; and recollecting that in addition to these warlike merits he is almost a Totleben in earthworks, and has a country to fall back on, studded with hundreds of natural fastnesses, I think it no exaggeration to say that, fighting in the *Bush*, we must count him as fully equal to one man-of-war's man, or colonial rifleman, to nearly two soldiers, or Red Indians, and to almost half-a-dozen Kafirs, Sepoys, or Malays. I say, fighting in the *Bush*, for as yet we know know nothing of the prowess of the Natives as combatants in the open country. In all our skirmishes with them they have hitherto been permitted to choose their own ground, and have ever received our attacks well protected by fortifications, and firing on us from rifle pits, thick cover, entrenchments, or stockades. I apprehend, however, that in any further fighting we may have with them, a good leader would succeed in changing our tactics, and would contrive, here and there, to draw them into the Open, where, I believe a single regiment like the gallant 65th would rout double its force.

This estimate, then, would give the Natives an effective fighting force of some 20,000 men; and assuming that for the future a portion of the fighting *be* in the Open, we may consider this force as a match for about an equal number of troops, blue jackets, militia, and rifle volunteers.

The present Maori-king and Land-league quarrel is, I think, the most serious, the most national quarrel, which will ever occur between the races, and the one which would band together the greatest number of the existing eighteen tribes. But even here, if the Government will only declare that though they will chastise William King and those who have taken up arms, they have, as yet, no quarrel with the Natives at large; that the Waitangi Treaty shall still be respected, and that they will still seek to acquire land only by way of friendly purchase, I do not imagine that more than half or two-thirds of the tribes could be roused to take the field. Satisfaction with the present state of things, indifference to a Maori King, tribal jealousies (29), and other causes, will prevent many from rising even

if the war becomes more general. Some would observe a strict neutrality, others would offer to join us, and a few, perhaps, of the Ngapuhi, the Rarewa, and the Ngatiwhatua people might be trusted as allies. Bearing these considerations in mind, therefore, I think we may rest satisfied that neither on the present occasion, nor on any future occasion, shall we ever find opposed to us in the field a rebel Native force of more than from 10,000 to 12,000 well-armed warlike men. But most assuredly we may possibly have to fight such a force; and the questions which it behoves us at once to ask, and to answer, —"what power on our side would be likely to prevent the *rising* of such a force?—what, if it *did* rise, would enable us to beat it—and where are we to get our men?

Let us turn first to ourselves—for Heaven and the Mother Country will help those who help themselves. The colonist population of the North Island is, as yet, but little more than 40,000: and about one-fourth of it may consist of males between 18 and 40 years of age. This would give a body of 10,000 men capable, as regards age, of bearing arms; and these 10,000 would I think furnish a picked force of 3,000 Militia and Rifle Rangers who would go anywhere and do anything: young men ever foremost in the fight like the gallant young Colonists at Taranaki—young men, for a large part, either born in the colony, or long resident in the colony, who have out-walked the Native in the Bush, outrowed him in the whale chase, thrown him in every wrestle, shamed him in every shooting match—hardy young Settlers, who are as much at home in the Bush as the Maori is, and who have long learnt to laugh at his raw-head-and-bloody-bones war-dance, at his cannibal ferocity of aspect, and at those other paper-tiger devices of his with which he seeks to scare his enemy from the field, and which might well flutter the nerves of General Pallmall or Private Plucky when beheld for the first time as a prelude to real war. The North Island could contribute this quota—I think she could contribute no more (30); and to make up the force which we require, both to bring the present disturbances to a speedy and economical end, and to endow us with that power and prestige necessary now to enable us to civilize and save the Maori, I hold, that, *with all possible despatch, there*

*should be assembled in New Zealand a force of five or six regiments, a couple of our smallest gun-boats, and three or four steam-sloops of war.* (31.)

I fear this will seem a heavy demand on the Mother Country—but I fear no smaller force will do. A smaller force might be sent in driblets, and the result might well be that the present disturbances would be prolonged a year, and that in January, 1862 we might find ourselves despatching half an army to New Zealand to avenge a thousand murders, the destruction of millions of property, and the sack of every second Settlement from north to south. It is reported that the Governor has asked the Colonial Office for an increase of force; but with the reticence common to responsible officials in such matters, I fear our excellent Governor has been almost afraid plainly to tell the Colonial Office how bad the case really is, and how alarmingly worse it may soon become. The Colonial Office too, has probably been favoured with confidential communications from Bishop Abraham, Archdeacon Hadfield, and other bigots of the Church Missionary party, urging the Home Government to withdraw the troops, recal the Governor, sacrifice the Colonists, and entrust the management of New Zealand to them. But as we have seen in Chap. II., the Church Missionary party have been entrusted with the management of New Zealand once before; and the chief feats of their government were these—first, the provocation of a war—second, the ruin of thousands of Settlers—third, the debasement of thousands of Natives—fourth, the acquisition of large landed estates for themselves; and our old Church Missionaries are now as powerless to put things in order in New Zealand as was Mrs. Partington to stop the Atlantic with her mop. In this matter of despatching troops to New Zealand, then, let the Colonial Office, for once, heed Colonists rather than Governors or Missionaries, send out the assistance necessary to make up the Force I have named, and send it *at once.* I apprehend that such Force could be spared: China, India, and the Cape are quiet; England has now her Rifle Volunteers.

But, in advocating the expediency of making New Zealand the head-quarters of a strong military and naval force, other arguments, if necessary, might be urged beyond any founded on

the existence of our turbulent and rebellious Native population. Dr. Thompson's military statistics prove, that in regard to health of troops, New Zealand actually stands some 75 per cent. higher than even the Cape. Regiments leaving India for England a year before their time would find New Zealand an admirable half-way resting house for the year—a country which, with a climate cooler than Africa's, warmer than Britain's, would brace them up and prepare them for the colder latitudes of Chatham and Fermoy. In no part of the world, too, could troops be subsisted cheaper than New Zealand; and no where would vessels of war find more secure harbours, or finer timber, stores, and spars. Every regiment in New Zealand, like our old 58th, when not wanted in the field could find profitable employment and high colonial pay on public works, and would thus be spared that enforced idleness of monotonous barrack life which an eminent Judge has lately denounced as the great evil of a soldier's life. A naval and military force stationed in New Zealand, would also stand midway between the French Colonies in Oceana (32) and our gold fields in Australia. It would be in the very heart of seas swarming with American whaling vessels; near to Mexico and the Spanish republics, on the one side, hard by the Dutch and Spanish colonies, India, China, and Japan, on the other; and I believe I shall do no more than echo the opinion of many naval and military men who have *seen* the country if I say that, looking at her combination of natural advantages, New Zealand might now well be made the great Military and Naval Station of the Pacific, the Arsenal and Sanatorium of the South.

If the Home and the Colonial Government, always and for ever maintaining the Treaty of Waitangi (33), will, between them, station and create in New Zealand such a force as I have named, almost *any* measures which our "Native Council"(34) could suggest for the preservation and civilisation of the Native race would prove successful. If not, if missionary quackery is again to prevail, if the cry is still be peace when there is no peace, if a strong force, for kind use, is *not* to be maintained for a time in New Zealand, *no* measures that the Native Council may suggest will prove other than very partially and very slowly successful, or utterly futile and abortive.

While, therefore, it is uncertain whether such a Force will be given or withheld it would be as idle a thing to discuss, now, what Measures we ought to take to build up a sound Native policy, as if, in planning the erection of a mansion, we were to dispute about the breadth of door and window while it remained utterly uncertain whether we should ever possess the means of procuring even the brick and mortar necessary for our very foundations. What procedure to adopt for the settlement of the all-important Land Question—who we shall recognise as the owners of tribal and harpu territory—how far severalty and individuality of ownership shall be overshadowed by Mana—whether we shall waive the Crown's pre-emptive right, and partially admit "Direct Purchase"—how we shall best ally ourselves with the Natives in the work of blessing them with British laws—whether or no the period be not reached when they might be invited to enter the General Assembly (35)—how they may be best imbued with that "knowledge of common things," and with those first principles of sanatory science for want of which they are a departing people (36)—how some physical amalgamation of the two races could be brought about (37)—how best to curb the Missionary Faction, and abolish their *Imperium in imperio*—how the Colony, the Colonists, and the Natives shall find a fitting Representative at Home (38)—these, and fifty vital questions could easily be solved by the Native Council, and the General Assembly, *if*, and *if* only, in their efforts to civilize and save the Native race, Native Council and General Assembly be backed by the display of such a Force in the Colony as, proving to the Maori that we are the stronger power, shall encourage and increase the good portion of his semi-savage community, and intimidate and reduce the desperate and the bad.

## Emigration as affected by the War.

I cannot but regret that so large a portion of my limited space in this volume has been claimed by this Chapter on the New Zealand war. In commencing this second edition in the Highlands, some months ago, I shared the impression of many of my fellow-colonists, that this Maori King Move-

ment would produce no mischief; and, if let alone, would taper off in clap-trap orations, in war-dances, in pig-feasts. I hoped that the 500 pages to which my publisher limited me in order to enable him to put such a price on the book as would bring it within reach of intending emigrants of moderate means would be devoted entirely to practical emigration matters, and that I should have ample space in which to treat of my more favourite subjects of exports, and markets, the plough, and the fleece. But each month's mail brought grave news, and it soon became evident that if I wished to produce an honest book I must curtail what I had hoped to say on farming and grazing, and devote even a chapter to the fresh and unhappy subject of a New Zealand Native War. This enforced alteration of design will, I fear, prove distasteful to many of my readers who, like me, care little in the abstract for Native questions and forms of Government in New Zealand as compared with rural matters of garden, and grass field, Merino, Short-horn, and Thoroughbred.

But I must ask such practical emigrants to remember that this New Zealand war is a thing which strikes at the very roots of emigration, and that it has been my duty to attempt to show them that, in the North Island of New Zealand, the sword, for a time at least, may well stop the plough. I say this with sincere regret, but I say it openly and advisedly. My own individual interests, the interests of three-fourths of my family and friends, would lead me to encourage emigration to the North Island to the very utmost of my power. But, deservedly or not, I am, I think, in some quarters, regarded as an honest authority on New Zealand, and I shall not forfeit any position I may have attained by concealing, now, what I truly think. The great South Island of New Zealand, embracing the provinces of Nelson, Marlborough, Canterbury,* Otago, a country larger than England, possessing a finer

* *Canterbury and Otago.*—A little injurious tittle-tattle and misconception relating to these Settlements may here demand a word. Sydney, Melbourne, Van Diemen's Land—nay, even Auckland and Wellington—have affected to think that Canterbury, too fine a gentleman to soil his hands, would fain clip his sheep in kid gloves. Now, doubtless, there is an unusually large proportion of gentlemen in the Canterbury community,

climate and perhaps a more fertile soil, contains, as yet, a British population of only some 40,000 souls. In regard to personal security of life and property, even a general Native war in the North Island would no more affect the South

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many of whom, I daresay, do actually wear gloves; and there may be certain fair ladies there, who, when they emigrated, dreamt they were going—

> "To happy convents, bosom'd deep in vines,
> Where slumber'd abbots, purple as their wines,
> To isles of fragrance, lily-silvered vales,
> Diffusing languor in the panting gales,
> To lands of singing and of dancing birds,
> Love-whisp'ring woods, and hills alive with herds."

But so far is it from being true that Canterbury is "too fine" to work, that I fancy her annual exports of wool and wheat, and of all which brings grist to the mill and money to the chest, will, ere long, prove that she works even harder than some of her ruder rivals.

Indeed, if we have any lurking notion that an accomplished mind and intellectual refinements are mere cumbersome finery in the "Bush," the sooner we disabuse ourselves of such notion the better. In fact, those temporary privations, those occasional stoppages of "creature-comforts," that "roughing" which generally attends the emigrant's first campaign or two, are not so well borne by the unlettered peasant, or my lady's-maid, as by the scholar, the gentleman, or by the lady herself. As to mere "creature-comforts," I recollect that in early days, in New Plymouth, there was a frequent scarcity of fresh butter. This privation shook many a labourer's family to the centre; and when it happened to be followed up by a cruel cutting-off of "Devonshire cream," the Cornish miners all but flew to arms. Now in these "dairy-dearths" the more intellectual portion of the little community could conceal the poverty of the butterless board with the noble "Masque of Comus," or go with Addison to the country and milk "Sir Roger's" cows. Mind triumphs over matter, even in New Zealand; and gentle blood is good, even in the "Bush."

I certainly think that the high price of 2*l.* per acre demanded for wild land constitutes a serious objection to Canterbury. But this is the only objection; and now that the Canterbury people must begin to see, as I have observed at page 240, that Squatting, pure and simple, will have to give place to Grazing, and that, for the future, if their Settlement is to maintain its progress, it will be by selling land to Graziers, and not by leasing it to Squatters, I imagine that the price of land in Canterbury will, ere long, and *ex necessitate*, be reduced.

As to Otago, the remarks at page 154 may tend to dispel the erroneous idea respecting the severity of the climate; while as to the objection which has been urged against this Settlement that she is too *Scotch*, I would remark that she is every day becoming more liberal and cosmopolitan. Moreover, the fact of a large portion of her people being from over the border is, I think, an argument in favour of Otago rather than against her—for no country in the world sends forth finer Colonists than Scotland, and none can show bonnier lasses or braver men.

than an Irish faction fight, or even rebellion, in Tipperary might affect Cornwall or Kent; and the South Island has ever been, and still is, an emigration field which, in combination of natural, social, and political advantages, is unsurpassed by any in the world. But as regards the North Island, whether it be the province of Auckland, or Taranaki, or Hawke's Bay, or Wellington, let the emigrant be warned. Troubles seem brewing there, a latent volcano may soon burst out. In a few months the sky may be clear again, and the commencement of years of serene weather may set in. But, at present, all is gloomy, doubtful, confused; and the North Island, in its present state, is no fit field for an English family emigrating to create a quiet, happy home in some new and more roomy Land.

Let no one suffer himself to be deluded by listening to a contrary opinion. Agents, and employés of the various little local governments of the North Island are to be met with in this country who, I daresay, would still encourage, and honestly encourage, emigration to the particular corners of the colony they represent. If so, I tell the reader not to listen to them—they are not competent to judge of the gravity of the case. A man had better go to the Workhouse at once than go to a Colony where, after years of toil, he might some day see his home burnt down and half his family murdered by Natives—missionary converts though they might be; and it is by no means reasonably certain, as yet, that such a calamity as this might not some day overtake any man who now ventured to emigrate to the North Island of New Zealand.

About the tenth of every month we get fresh news, and things *may* take so favourable and rapid a turn that in another month or two emigration to the Provinces even of Auckland and Taranaki may be safely renewed. But, on the other hand, things may grow worse, and even if they remain as they are, they are so bad as to lead me to entreat all families who may now be preparing to emigrate to any of the provinces of the North Island, either to delay their departure a while, or to change their path a little and settle in the safe South.

*Ramsgate, Feb.* 1, 1861.

# APPENDIX.

## BUYING LAND OF NATIVES DEAR AND SELLING CHEAP.

(1, page 442.)

Great nonsense is occasionally talked on this subject by persons who speak without thinking. It is true that in the North Island the Government have often bought land of the Natives for a few pence per acre, and sold it to the Settlers for a few shillings per acre. But before the Government can ask this enhanced price they have to survey the land, to lay out roads and bridges, villages and townships, to establish law and order, and make the wilderness habitable for the Settler. In the vast majority of cases, 100 acres of land bought for cultivation at ten *shillings* per acre of the Government, would be cheaper to the Settler than 100 acres bought of the Natives at ten *pence* per acre.

## OBSERVANCE OF THE WAITANGI TREATY.

(2, page 442.)

It is true that Governor Browne, in one of his despatches, incidentally alludes to some expressions of a certain Provincial Councillor at Auckland, indicative of a desire, on the part of such person, that if more land could not be obtained of the Natives by purchase, it had better be obtained by force. It may be true, that, here and there, members of our Provincial Councils, exasperated by the Natives' dog-in-the-manger monopoly of land, and by their evasions of such conditions of the Treaty as they disliked, have thought, to use their own style of language, that what was sauce for the goose was sauce for the gander, and may have asserted that if the Natives were to be permitted to break the Treaty by their refusals to obey British law, we were permitted to break it by departing from our agreement to acquire land in no other way than by the way of friendly purchase. But, as shown at page 172, our Provincial Councillors no more represent the people of New Zealand, than the Town Councillors of Little Pedlington represent the people of England; and I venture to assert, that before the present outbreak at New Plymouth, nine-tenths of the Colonists of New Zealand would have voted for our continued faithful observance of the Waitangi Treaty, unjust to them as they felt that Treaty to be.

## GOOD WILL OF THE COLONISTS TOWARDS THE NATIVES.

(3, page 443.)

As an answer to the old Missionary official cry that the Colonists and their modern representative Government are indifferent to the welfare of

the Natives, I would observe that in his Budget for the year 1858, *long before there was any ground for supposing that the Natives, as a body, were other than loyal and contented subjects*—our popular Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Richmond, actually proposed, out of his slender resources, to *double* the annual expenditure made for the special benefit of the Natives; and instead of taking only 50,000*l.* from the revenues of the colony for native purposes, as provided by the Crown, to take 100,000*l.*, and expend it, over a period of seven years, in establishing and extending native training schools, and native hospitals, and other special institutions for the welfare of the aborigines.

## THE FIRST MAORI KING.

### (4, page 445.)

Te Whero Whero, *alias* Potatau, an Old Waikato chief, was the first Maori ruler ostensibly elected to the Kingship. I saw him on one occasion at Taranaki, arrayed not in regal purple though, but wrapped up in an old blanket, and was much struck with his fine presence and his quiet port. He had, however, been a great warrior and cannibal, and in the bloody raid made on the Taranaki natives in 1833, by the Waikatoes under his command, is said to have killed nearly two hundred men with his own hand. Here, indeed, at Pukerangiora, the slaughter was so great that the air for miles around was tainted with putridity; and Te Whero Whero and his slipped "Dogs of War," returned home gorged with human flesh and rich in slaves. In his latter days he was a man of peace and a friend to the white men. He was almost in his dotage when named King, and it is thought would gladly have escaped the "greatness thrust upon him." He died a few months ago, and his son has been nominated his successor.

## PAKEHA MAORIES.

### (5, page 446.)

"Pakeha" is the native word for stranger or foreigner, and is the term used by the Natives to designate the Colonists. "Maori" is the native name for the aboriginal race; and the phrase "Pakeha-Maori" may be translated as a stranger turned into a native, a person who is half-white man, half-black. In Dr. Thompson's description of Pakeha-Maories he takes too narrow a view, treats of them as consisting only of old whalers, and says that in 1853 there were only ten of them left in the country. The whalers deserve all the praise he gives them—I have known many, and a finer, better-hearted race of rough, rude men never lived; but old whalers form only a small and select portion of our Pakeha-Maories, and I have no doubt that at the present moment there might be found in both islands as many as a couple of hundred persons who, virtually, are Pakeha-Maories.

## FRENCH JESUITS.

### (6, page 447.)

It has been asserted that the French Catholic Priests, attached to that French Missionary establishment which has long been suffered to exist in New Zealand, have also been instrumental in inciting the Natives to rebellion by ever picturing to them the English as a nation of shop-

keepers and cotton-spinners, who, but for a series of little accidents, would long ago have been enslaved by Hongi's great Hero, Napoleon the First, and who will yet probably be invaded and enslaved by the great Hero's nephew, Napoleon the Third.

## THE MAORI KING LEVYING CUSTOMS.

### (7, page 449.)

The most overt and impudent "King movement" act which they have yet ventured to commit has been their attempt, at the little port of Kawhia; described at page 139, to levy customs in the King's name. The Governor in his despatch to the Duke of Newcastle, dated Auckland, April 27th, 1860, speaking of the King movement, says:—"The agitation has been carried on with great energy and some secrecy. Emissaries have been sent in every direction to make proselytes; deputations have been received in some state; two tribes unconnected with the Waikatos have tendered their allegiance and presented their lands to the league, of which the King is the nominal head; great exertions have been made to obtain similar adhesions from other tribes; and the King's council openly assume the right to decide on the justice of my proceedings, and consider whether or not they will aid a chief in rebellion against Her Majesty's Government. A large number have subscribed and given money to a disaffected European for a printing press to be conducted by him. A flag has been designed, and hoisted at the King's residence; *and an abortive attempt was made at Kawhia to levy customs in the King's name.* Under these circumstances, the dispute at Taranaki sinks into insignificance; indeed it is evident that unless W. King had calculated on support from this powerful confederation, he would have never presumed to offer resistance, or set up a claim so entirely without foundation."

## KING'S MURDEROUS ALLIES FROM TARANAKI.

### (8, page 450.)

The fact of these southern tribes having instantly joined William King affords further proof, if any were wanted, that it is the King movement, the Anti-land Selling-league, combined with love of blood and plunder, and not the petty Waitara dispute, which led King and his allies to take up arms. These southern tribes have no acre of land at Waitara—no more property there than they have in Westmoreland. For years past they have had the barren monopoly of the magnificent country extending from Tataramaka to the South, a country lying many miles from the Waitara, and having no manner of connexion with it—a country, too, which has been left so entirely to themselves that beyond the Missionaries there is scarce a white man to be found in the whole of it. For nearly twenty years these people have drawn their supplies from New Plymouth: every week or month parties of them have visited the Settlement to sell their corn and pigs and potatoes, and to supply themselves with groceries, ironware, clothing, and tobacco in return. During the whole of this period no single quarrel or cause of quarrel ever arose between them and the Settlers. On their visits to New Plymouth—I speak from actual personal experience—they were regarded as pleasant trading friends; they were ever treated as such, yet, when William King hoisted the rebel flag at Waitara, these sanctified scoundrels, for they are among the most devout of our missionary converts, were the first to take up arms. It was

they who murdered our boys and our poor labourers at Omata; and they have done more in burning and plundering the rural homesteads, more in stealing stock, and more in harassing the settlement than even William King himself. *It is a circumstance, too, never, I think, to be forgotten in our future dealings with the Natives that, five years ago, in a time of profound peace, when they were every week visiting the Settlement under the mask of friendly traders, these people were actually plotting a night attack on New Plymouth, with a view of plundering the stores and murdering any Settlers who might resist. These Nana Sahibs made secret and urgent proposals of this nature to Katatoré, the chief alluded to at page* 463. *Katatoré refused to join them, and before his death revealed the plot to the Government and the Wesleyan Missionaries. Yet these are the lambs whose feelings were hurt (according to Mr. Fox) by the proclamation of martial law!!*

## THE NATIVE CONFERENCE AT KOHIMARAMA.

### (9, page 450.)

The holding of this conference at Kohimarama was an excellent measure on the part of the Governor and his Ministry, and it may have been politic to state that the tenour of it was peaceful. But Maori authorities well know that, as a guarantee of peace, as a pledge of the Natives' intention to abandon the "Maori King and Land-league movement," the result of the conference is no more to be valued than the paper its proceedings are recorded on. The King Movement party regard the Taranaki affairs as a "feeler," and just as the Taranaki affair is settled, so they will turn for or against us. Their words are fair enough—but, "Tenei ano a mutu, kei roto i tona ware pungawerewere." "The spider is not seen when hid in his web; and a man's real meaning lies hid in the recesses of his heart."

## WILLIAM KING'S APOLOGISTS.

### (10, page 451.)

Archdeacon Hadfield, a bigoted and femininely jealous member of our old Church Missionary party, has long resided at Waikanae, William King's old residence in Cook's Straits, and, in connection with blankets and tobacco, has been the chief instrument in what he calls the "conversion" of this man. Looking on New Zealand as the appanage of Exeter Hall, as a place where the Colonist is a trespasser, and loving his convert with a love that passeth human understanding, Mr. Hadfield has taken up the cudgels for William King, and in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle—a letter which if it proceeded from any one but a clergyman would be stigmatized as one replete with the *suppressio veri*, the *suggestio falsi*—has endeavoured to show that his client is in the right, and that Governors, and Ministers, and Wesleyan missionaries, and Land Commissioners, and Colonists, are each and all scandalously in the wrong. Mr. Fox, the gentleman alluded to in the introduction to this chapter, and in the note at page 358, has, for certain good reasons best known to himself, thought well to ally himself, for the hour, to the Archdeacon and William King, and has also fulminated a pamphlet on the wrongs and merits of his client, which, in spirit of conception, accuracy of statement, and taste of execution, is a fit pendant to the Archdeacon's. I intended to make a *précis* of the leading allegations in these twin productions, arrange it on one side of a sheet, and then place the answers on the other. But when we

got the official papers from the colony, when we had before us the Rev. Mr. Buddle's admirable pamphlet on the war, and then Professor Browne's able exposition of the Governor's policy, I saw that the work of dissecting Mr. Hadfield and Mr. Fox was work needless to be done. As a specimen, however, of that accuracy of statement, that benevolent spirit of design for which these pamphlets will, I hope, long be recollected by the New Zealand Colonists, I will just point to one or two of their pages, and assure the reader that such are only samples of the whole.

In his pamphlet addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Hadfield, in urging his Grace to believe that the Chief who sold the Governor the Waitera land had no right to sell it, and that the Governor had inhumanly provoked the war, uses these words :— "With regard to Teira's right to sell, which is so positively asserted, and on the supposed validity of which a war has been commenced at Taranaki, can I expect to be believed in England, when I assert, as I do unequivocally, that Teira's father, Tamati Raru, through whom alone the son could lay claim to any land, as inherited by him from his ancestors, is still alive and opposed to its alienation? . . . . He refused to sell, and co-operated with Wm. King up to the very commencement of hostilities. I feel that nothing I could add to this fact would tend to strengthen the assertion I make, that the claim set up on behalf of Teira to alienate the whole block of land is altogether untenable." *Now, here, the truth was that Teira's father had actually signed his son's letters, begging that the Governor would complete the purchase, while the following extract from the speech of the Premier of New Zealand, made in his place in the House of Representatives, shows that Teira's father was actually asking the Government for weapons wherewith he might fight for the protection of his son's rights.*

"There had been rumours that Teira's father, Tamati Raru, was fighting on King's side; the fact being that Tamati Raru had assisted to cut the boundary lines for the surveyor of the very block in dispute. Tamati Raru's only objection to the proceedings of the Government was, that they had not at once given him a gun to enable him to fight on the Government side. They had received letters from him, not declaring that the land should not be sold, not desiring that the survey should be stopped, or the military occupation of the land be abandoned, but asking for a gun to fight them."—*Speech of Mr. Stafford*, Aug. 7, *New Zealander*. What does the reader think of this specimen of the accuracy, or the veracity of our extreme Church Missionary party? If it be pleaded that this is an extreme case, here is another to match it, and, if needs were, I would engage to produce fifty similar instances, where in the discussion of this Taranaki war, the zeal of the Church Missionaries, to use a mild word, has been far more prominent than their benevolence or their truth. Close to Archdeacon Hadfield, at Waikanae, lives Bishop Abraham, at Wellington, and alluding to a memorial which these Dignitaries addressed to the Duke of Newcastle, Professor Browne mildly says :—"It has been stated by the Bishop of Wellington, that the Natives have been indisposed to sell their land in consequence of the Governor giving assent to a bill in 1858, forbidding the Natives to endow Native ministers of religion with their own lands. This, *the Bishop has 'no hesitation in saying,' has tended as much as anything to alienate the affections of the Natives, and to drive them to join the Maori-King movement.* The answer by the Governor and his ministers to this serious charge is, that no such act ever passed the Assembly, and so none such could have received the Governor's assent. The only change during this Governor's term of office has

been by the New Zealand Reserves Act, 1856, which gives *facilities* for the endowment, by Natives, of schools and other eleemosynary institutions, and for empowering them to grant sites for churches and burial-grounds. Every one who knows Bishop Abraham will acquit him of intentional misrepresentation, but these *unhesitating* charges sent home against a Governor, ought not to be made without fuller investigation of their truth. The higher the station and character of the accuser, the more cautious should he be in his statements.

Mr. Fox, who professes to write for the Colonists, but who, like the tailors of Tooley Street, has once or twice before spoken unasked for the people of New Zealand, does not, as might be expected from a lawyer, so commit himself by direct statements as his reverend coadjutors do —he acts more by innuendo and insinuation. Thus, he leads us to suppose that one of the causes of the Taranaki war is this—that Mr. Richmond, the minister who has taken so prominent a part in asserting the justice of the war, has done so because he is an owner of land in Taranaki, and hopes that a successful termination of the war will enable him to get more land there. This, substantially, is much the same thing as if Mr. Gilpin were to accuse some Derby Administration of going to war with France because the Emperor had refused Mr. Disraeli permission to rent a chateau there. Christopher William Richmond is a man of ancient virtue and fidelity, and every one who knows him, knows that if any private consideration could turn him a hair's breadth from what he believed to be the path of his public duty, the consideration that he might be able to buy a bit of land at Waitara, if William King were once knocked on the head, would rather have led him to protect that Native as if he had been a rare exotic.

As to the letters in the Hadfield and Fox pamphlets, from Wiremu Kingi and Riwai Te Ahu, and Hobessa Ngapaki, and Weporahama Putihi, and Epehu Paekau Tupoki, and other worthies who, in missionary jargon or in dictated words, protest that the Waitara land belonged to the "widow and the orphan," and that Governor Browne is a bad man, a vessel of wrath, and won't go to heaven, let the reader be easy. It would be easy to procure a hundred letters from the thieves of London denouncing the police as an obstructive force—it would be easy for the Missionaries and Mr. Fox to procure a hundred letters from the Natives of New Zealand, denouncing Governor Browne and begging for his recall. The justice of our quarrel with William King is not to be judged by the Natives. Maories, like all savage races, are, for the most part, unbounded liars, and will almost ever shout with the biggest mob. Natives, however, have been asked to express a voice as to the troubles at the Waitara, and what has been their voice? At the great meeting of chiefs held at Kohamarama (after they had sent a native agent to Waitara to obtain evidence) to debate the question of whether the Governor or William King had truth and justice on his side, a majority of no less than 107 to 3 adopted the following resolutions:—"That this Conference having heard explained the circumstances which led to the war at Taranaki, is of opinion that the Governor was justified in the course taken by him; that Wiremu Kingi provoked the quarrel, and that the proceedings of the latter are wholly indefensible."—"That this conference deprecates in the strongest manner the murders of unarmed Europeans committed by the Natives now fighting at Taranaki."—"That the Conference desires to thank his Excellency the Governor for his goodness to the Maori people, that is, for his constant kindness and love to them; and also for granting them this great boon, the Runanga (Parliament or Conference), whereby they are enabled to

express their views, and to propose measures for the settlement of the difficulties which arise among the native people."—"That this Conference desires to thank their friend Mr. McLean for his great exertions on their behalf, and for his kindness to the Natives of this Island of New Zealand."

## THE OLD NEW ZEALAND WHALER.

## (11, page 452.)

Many of my brother colonists in Taranaki and the Cook's Straits Settlements will at once see that I allude here to the late Richard Barrett, one of the best specimens of the respectable Pakeha-Maori I ever met with. When I first arrived in New Zealand. Barrett, nearly sixty, an old man, could no longer strike the whale with that sure harpoon which had made his name a household word over half New Zealand. But he was still hardy enough to enlist in the first expedition which ever drove sheep and cattle overland from Wellington to Taranaki. I and my brother spent some weeks on the coasts with this expedition, partly shooting, partly examining the country, and partly helping to assist our future fellow settler, Mr. Cooke, to restrain his perverse beasts from disappearing, finally and for ever, in the Bush; and at night, round a mighty fire of a dozen trees, Barrett would relate to us his early history and the origin of his connection with the Ngatiawa. He was a most hospitable man and a most entertaining companion. When we settled at New Plymouth I sought his acquaintance, and was so much struck with his graphic account of the early days of New Zealand, that I at one time thought of amusing my evenings by attempting to write his life. He died a few years since at New Plymouth, leaving two half-caste daughters by his Ngatiawa wife: they had a nice little landed property, and both of them married respectable Settlers.

## THE RESIDENT NGATIAWA.

## (12, page 453.)

A small party of the more hopeful members of the tribe, however, refused to abandon their country and fly to Waikanae. They appear to have argued, and, if so, they argued justly, that the Waikatoes had such a large and fine country of their own, that they would never care to occupy much of the new one they had conquered, and that satisfied with the terrible "utu" (payment) they had taken for the murder of the "canoe party," they would not be likely to molest the Ngatiawa again without Ngatiawa gave them some fresh provocation. This party, therefore, who hereafter will be designated as the "Resident Natives," retired to the woods for a time, and when the Waikato camp was broken up, they gradually stole back, formed themselves into a little community dwelling chiefly round the Sugar Loaves at Mutoroa, and with fear and trembling once more ventured to dig their fern-root, and light their fires in the open country.

## SAMPLE OF THE SYSTEM OF COLONIZATION PURSUED BY NEW ZEALAND NATIVES.

## (13, page 453.)

This colonizing party never left the new territory thus summarily acquired: they still reside there to the number of about 500, and grow and export some fine potatoes. The original inhabitants as a

distinct race are extinct. I have conversed with a very intelligent old Native who was one of these emigrants to the Chathams. He described the Natives as being rather smaller and darker than the New Zealanders, but still delicate eating; while eels were found in great profusion. It appears to me that when Mr. Hadfield is dilating to William King on the rapacity exhibited by the white man in acquiring new lands and enslaving the Natives, he might advantageously call his convert's attention to the manner in which his own tribe, modern Missionary New Zealanders, acquire a title to new lands. At the Chathams they have given us an instance of it, and the process is at least entitled to the praise of being one which thoroughly accomplishes its object—*taking the land and eating the owner*, is certainly a mode of acquiring a right to the soil far more complete than any practised in Westminster Hall.

## THE NEW ZEALAND COMPANY'S CARE OF THE NATIVES.

## (14, page 454.)

In all the New Zealand Company's Settlements, after the land had been purchased of the natives, one-tenth of it was set apart for them as their unalienable landed estate, which they might occupy or let, but which they could not sell. These "reserved tenths" were, indeed, the real and magnificent payment which the Company made the Natives. I say magnificent, advisedly—for if the New Zealand Company's colonizing operations had not been put an end to by the hostility of the then Missionary Government, there can be no doubt that these "reserved Native lands" would have formed a landed property for the Natives, worth, probably even by this time, a quarter of a million sterling.

## WILLIAM KING'S FIRST SALE OF WAITARA.

## (15, page 454.)

In these negotiations with Colonel Wakefield, William King was particularly prominent, and in a deed of sale, known as the Queen Charlotte's Sound deed, which made over to the Europeans a tract of country *including the Waitara*, he signed first for himself and father. This act is so fatal to his present pretensions to the Waitara, that his apologists have been greatly inconvenienced by it; and they would escape the dilemma it has put them in by boldly asserting that when King signed this deed he did not know what he was doing. But I must protest against this double reading of William King: he must be either fish, flesh, or fowl—he cannot be all three. When it would answer the purpose of his apologists to ennoble him, they depict him as one of nature's noblemen, eminent alike for piety and intelligence. When they have to debase him, he is the muddle-headed, rum-drinking savage, stupidly signing his name to a deed in utter ignorance of its meaning. Now I have no very exalted opinion of the intellect of William King; but if Mr. Hadfield ever succeeds in getting William King to make a clean breast of it, he will find that when he signed his name to this Queen Charlotte's Sound deed he knew the nature of it as well as Colonel Wakefield did.

## THE RIGHT OF THE WAIKATO TRIBE TO SELL THE TARANAKI DISTRICT TO THE QUEEN.

## (16, page 455.)

As before observed, this treaty (described at page 28), which I regard as a very worthless document, but which the Home Government and

the New Zealand Government and the Missionaries have long agreed to acknowledge as the basis of all our relations with the Natives, and which the Natives have been taught to regard as their Magna Charta, guaranteed to the Natives all their "possessions." Te Whero Whero and the Waikatoes claimed the Ngatiawa country as a "possession" by right of conquest, and most assuredly by native law and custom they were justified in doing so. The fact of their not having cared to use or occupy the new country, to hold any beneficial possession of it, was not the slightest valid argument against their claim. With a handful of stay-at-home, village-dwelling garden-cultivating people, numbering only some 80,000, in a country as large as the United Kingdom, there was scarcely such a thing known as "beneficial possession" of wild land; and if the "possessions" of the New Zealanders had been interpreted as meaning only lands which they cultivated, or occupied, or dwelt on, or used, their "possessions" would have been put down as consisting of a few tens of thousands of acres of land, instead of nearly eighty millions.

Practically, it is not now of the slightest consequence to ascertain whether, in 1840, the Waikato or the Ngatiawa were the real owners of the New Plymouth territory, but, as Mr. Hadfield has chosen to deny the Waikato right, I offer the reader the following evidence on the subject, given by the highest authority in New Zealand, on all Native matters:—

"The Waikato title to Taranaki was universally admitted by the Natives at the time of the conquest: many acts of ownership over the soil had been exercised by them. The land was divided among the conquering chiefs: the usual custom of putting up flags, and posts to mark the boundaries of the portions claimed by each chief had been gone through. Any occupation of the land by the Ngatiawa at that period was entirely out of the question; but those Natives who were released from slavery from time to time were permitted by Waikato to occupy, but those who had fled to the South were not allowed to return, and they were distinctly warned that if a return were attempted it would be the cause for fresh war against Ngatiawa. The Waikato right was thus established as a right of conquest, and was fully admitted by the Ngaiawa themselves; who, on each occasion when they sold a portion of land at Taranaki, sent a part of the payment to Waikato as an acknowledgment of conquest or of the right of *Mana* possessed by the Waikato chiefs as their conquerors. In this view of the question it is quite evident that the Ngatiawa title had been superseded by the right of the conquerors."—*Evidence of Mr. McLean, given before a Committee of the House of Representatives, at Auckland, August* 14, 1860.

## THE WAIKATO DEED OF SALE.

### (17, page 455.)

"Know all men by this book. We, chiefs of Waikato, do let go and sell these lands of ours to George Clarke, the Protector of Natives for H.M. Victoria, Queen of England, and her heirs and successors, whether male or female, the land and all things that are on and under this land, we sell to George Clarke, the Protector of Natives for an estate for the Queen, her Heirs and Successors, whether male or female, for ever.

"The beginning of the Northern boundary is at Tongapourutu, the Western boundary is along the sea shore between Tongaporutu and Waitotara, and on the South beginning from Waitotara and going inland to Piraunui.

"We receive these payments on behalf of the tribes of Waikato for their interest in the said land, one hundred and fifty pounds money, two horses, two saddles, and two bridles, one hundred red blankets.

"Witness our names and signs, written in Auckland, on this thirty-first day of January, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and forty-two.

"(Signed,) TE KATI.
TE WHERO WHERO.

"Witnesses—
"(Signed) J. COATES,
GEORGE CLARKE, Sub-Protector.
"True Translation—(Signed) THOMAS S. FORSAITH."

It will be observed that this "Waikato Deed" conveys to the Queen a far larger district than the one lying between the Taniwa and the Sugar Loaves. And by Native Law the Waikatoes had the right to dispose of such larger district—for though the Ngatiawa villages and strongholds were mainly on the Waitara and Waiangona rivers, yet the Ngatiawa were regarded as the original owners of some miles of country to the north; while through their intermarriages with the Taranaki tribe, and their frequent emigrations into that country, they were looked on by the Waikatoes as part or chief owners of the districts lying as far south as Waitotara.

## AN INSTANCE OF HOW LITTLE THE NATIVES WANT THE LANDS THEY CLAIM.

(18, page 458.)

At the time of Mr. Spain's award, and Governor Fitzroy's reversal thereof, the whole of the five hundred Natives in New Plymouth had not more than a couple of hundred of acres in cultivation; which, however, with their teeming sea fisheries, seems to have been sufficient to supply them, in their lazy mode of life, with an ample stock of food. Some beautiful farms at the Mongaraka were abandoned to them by Governor Fitzroy; but so little did these people require the land they claimed and were ever quarrelling about, that even these cultivated farms where thousands had been expended in clearing the surface, and preparing for crop, were not used by them. Most of the land, indeed soon became a wilderness of weeds, and the "Thistle Ordinance," passed some years after by the Provincial Council of New Plymouth, originated mainly through the damage done by the thistle seed blowing over the whole Settlement from the great thistle beds which soon covered these deserted farms.

## MR. GLADSTONE ON THE SCENE.

(19, page 462.)

A change of Ministry occurred in England soon after the culminating point of Missionary policy had been reached in the pardon of the Wairau murderers, and in Governor Fitzroy's arbitrary reversal of the Land Courts' decision: Mr. Gladstone had succeeded the then Lord Stanley (and Mr. Danderson Coates) at the Colonial Office, and Mr. Gladstone's opinion of Governor Fitzroy and the Missionary policy may be gathered from the following despatch, which he addressed to Captain Fitzroy's successor, Governor Grey:—

"Downing-street, 2nd July, 1846.

"Sir,—I have received Captain Fitzroy's despatch, marked separate, of the 29th of October last, enclosing a copy of a letter addressed to the Colonial Secretary by the principal agent of the New Zealand Company. Captain Fitzroy states that letter to have been forwarded by him, as it might be required for reference in connection with the arrangements made at New Plymouth.

"From that letter it appears that Colonel Wakefield, adverting to the arrangements entered into by the Company with the Government in the year 1840, for the purchase of land at New Plymouth, and to the award of Mr. Commissioner Spain, which had been overruled by Captain Fitzroy, had refused to accept on the part of the Company the Title Deeds to 3500 acres of land at that Settlement.

"I cannot but express my great surprise and regret at not having been placed by Captain Fitzroy in possession of a full report of the course which he pursued in this case, and of his reasons for that course. *I, however, indulge the hope that you may have found yourself in a condition to give effect to the award of Mr. Spain in the case of the Company's claims at New Plymouth; and, in any case, I rely on your endeavours to gain that end, so far as you may have found it practicable, unless indeed, which I can hardly think probable, you may have seen reason to believe that the reversal of the Commissioner's judgment was a wise and just measure.*

"I have, &c., W. E. GLADSTONE.

"Governor Grey, &c. &c."

## WILLIAM KING'S RETURN TO WAITARA.

(20, page 463.)

This event took place in 1848; and there is a circumstance arising from it which affords an amusing instance of a Native's attempt to re-establish what, to use an expression, he calls his "title" to land. We have seen that King himself sold the Waitara to Colonel Wakefield in 1840, and that Te Whero Whero sold it to the Queen in 1842. Before King actually re-emigrated from Waikanae to New Plymouth, he had visited the Settlement, and was present at a great meeting of the tribe, convened by Sir George Grey, at New Plymouth in 1847. At this meeting Sir George told King, who had thrown out hints that he would come back to New Plymouth and reoccupy Waitara, that he should not do so; that Waitara belonged to the Queen, both by the Waikato sale of it, and by the Ngatiawa sale of it; that he, King, had found a fine new country at Waikanae, and that he should *stay* at Waikanae. King replied that he *would* return to Waitara—the Governor replied that force should be used to stop him. In the grave distractions which soon followed, however, Sir George seems to have forgotten his threat. William King slipped up, and established himself at Waitara almost unperceived by the authorities, *and he now asserts that Waitara is his again, because, so to speak, he "conquered" it back by returning there in defiance of Sir George's threats.* Mr. Hadfield asserts that Native titles to land are exceedingly clear and simple, but surely this case of King *versus* Gray, *in re* Waitara, together with the remarks made at page 34, and the following testimony of Mr. MacLean, must show that Mr. Hadfield is exceeding simple to believe so. "The principal difficulties which have to be contended with in acquiring land from the Natives arise out of the necessity of insisting on proof of such merely asserted claims, and of

excluding those who fail to substantiate them from participation in the money paid for the land. I know of instances in which the most frivolous pretences have been used to justify such demands. I have found Natives, after attempting to substantiate an asserted claim to land, and failing to do so for want of a good title, evince great disappointment at their defeat. *On one occasion a Native actually came to me and, with the greatest coolness, asked whether (since he had failed in his first attempt) he could not bring forward a claim to an island in the South Seas from which his ancestors had come 600 years ago. The idea was absurd. I asked him whether he really meant what he said. He replied that he did. I told him he might as well have preferred a claim to a portion of the moon. His reply was that he was descended from Hawea o te Marama.* Finding, however, that it was useless to prefer a fictitious claim, he gave the question up. I allude to this circumstance to show that too much attention to merely asserted claims may entail considerable inconvenience, danger, and expense to the country. I do not wish to throw doubts upon any just claims of theirs, and am fully aware that every acre of land in this island, not acquired by the Crown, is their property."—*Mr. MacLean's Evidence before Committee of the House of Representatives.*

## RAWIRI'S MURDER.

## (21, page 463.)

During the progress of this blood-feud, the Settlers frequently memorialized the Government to interfere and put an end to so scandalous a state of things; but Sir George Grey had left the colony to receive his present appointment at the Cape; Colonel Wynyard, commander of the troops, had been appointed his successor *pro tem.*, and Colonel Wynyard appears to have doubted his power to interfere with success, and to have been unwilling, during his temporary administration of affairs, to take the responsibility of executing any measures which might possibly have drawn the troops and settlers into the quarrel.

## GOVERNOR BROWNE'S DECLARATION THAT HE WOULD MAINTAIN BRITISH LAW IN A BRITISH SETTLEMENT.

## (22, page 464.)

"I have the honour to report for your information, that I have recently visited the Province of Taranaki * * *

"3. I had also an interview with the Chief, William King, and a large part of his tribe, who came to see me.

"I took advantage of the opportunity to declare that, 'for the future, I had determined that every man, whether he be Maori or Pakeha, who may commit any violence or outrage within the European boundaries, shall be arrested and taken before the Judge, and the sentence of the Judge, whatever it may be, shall be carried into effect; that I was determined the peace of the Settlers should no longer be disturbed by evildoers; and that the Maories who are not content to live in peace among the Pakehas had better go elsewhere.'

"This declaration was received with satisfaction by both races who dwelt within the European boundary, and will, I trust, have a beneficial effect. William King and his men, who lived outside the boundary, remained silent.

"4. After this, a Chief, named Teira, offered some land for sale, which

he and his relatives desired to dispose of to the Government, and which, as being situated at the mouth of the Waitara river, on the South bank, will be a valuable acquisition to the Province. He pressed for an immediate answer, and I replied that if he could give a satisfactory title I would accept his offer. Another Chief rose to object, but when asked if he had any claim to the land, admitted that he had not.

"William King then rose, and while asserting no claim to it, said he would never permit that land to be sold; then, waving his hand to his people, he and they left the meeting with some want of courtesy to myself.

"5. Since then progress had been made in ascertaining Teira's right to dispose of the land (of which there seems to be little doubt), and, if proved, the purchase will be completed. Should this be the case, it will probably lead to the acquisition of all the land south of the Waitara river, which is essentially necessary for the consolidation of the Province, as well as for the use of the Settlers. It is also most important to vindicate our right to purchase from those who have both the right and the desire to sell.

"The right to sell land belonging to themselves without interference on the part of the Chiefs (not having a claim to share in it) is fully admitted by Maori custom; any recognition of such a power as that assumed by William King would therefore be unjust to both races, because it would be the means of keeping millions of acres waste and out of cultivation. I have, however, little fear that William King will venture to maintain his assumed right; but have made every preparation to enforce obedience should he presume to do so. Copies of the instructions I have given to both the Civil and Military authorities are herewith enclosed."—*From a despatch, dated Auckland, March* 24, 1859, *from Governor Browne to Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer, Secretary of State for the Colonies.*

## THE TARANAKI LAND LEAGUE AND ITS EMISSARIES AT THE WAITARA.

### (23, page 466.)

The Taranaki Land League which has grown into the Maori King Movement, and the Waitara rebels' connection with it, are well described in the following extracts from the Rev. Thomas Buddle's able pamphlet on the Maori King Movement. Speaking of the desire manifested by some of the Cook's Straits Natives to follow the example of the Ngatiapa tribe who in 1849 had sold the Government a block of 400,000 acres lying along the shores of the Straits from Wangaihu to Rangitaké, he says:—"*Hona*, of Waitotara, and Karipa, of Taumaha, proposed to sell a fine block lying between Patea and Manawapou, but many who possessed no claim in the block raised an outcry against the proposal. In May, 1849, the entire tribe met at Turangarere, on the occasion of the opening of a new church. The subject of land sales was introduced at that meeting, and warmly discussed. It was *proposed that no person or family should sell land within the boundary of the Ngatiruanui territory without the general consent of the tribe.* This proposal was approved by many, but the meeting was not unanimous. Many asserted their right to do as they pleased with their own; and Hona and Karipa persisted in their determination to sell. The opponents to selling pushed their views, *and sought to make it*, "*Te Tikanga o te Iwi*" *(the law of the tribe) that no individual or family should alienate land without the consent of the whole tribe.* To make the law

popular and binding, they determined on a more general meeting, and to invite all the tribes along the coast to join them in this measure. Tamati Reina, a zealous opponent of land sales, made a tour along the coast from New Plymouth to Wellington, soliciting the co-operation of the principal chiefs. The proposal was that a League be formed that should be both defensive and offensive in its operations, not merely binding its members not to sell, but also prohibiting others from selling, and which should employ any amount of force they might be able to command in carrying out their measures. *Tamati met with a favourable reception at Waitara*, at Otaki, and from some of the Wellington chiefs. After the usual amount of agitation, a great meeting was summoned to be held at Manawapou, for which extensive preparations were made. A large house was built, said to be the largest ever erected in the country, measuring 120 feet in length by 35 in breadth. Matini Te Whiwhi, who attended this meeting, named the building "Taiporohenui," a word that is used as a symbol of union. The meeting was held in 1854, about 1000 persons attended, and the following measures were resolved upon :—

"1st. *That from this time forward no more land shall be alienated to Europeans without the general consent of this confederation.*

"2nd. That in reference to the Ngatiruanui and Taranaki tribes, the boundaries of the pakeha shall be Kai Iwi on the south side, and a place within a short distance of New Plymouth on the north.

"3rd. *That no European magistrate shall have jurisdiction within native boundaries, but all disputes shall be settled by the runanga.*

"To give solemnity to the proceedings, and confirm the bond into which they entered with each other, they buried a New Testament in the earth and raised a cairn of stones on the spot; and to re-assert and perpetuate their determination, parties have been appointed to beat the boundaries at certain periods.

"This was the origin of the notorious Taranaki Land League, which evidently contains the elements of the present King movement, and which has proved so fruitful a source of dissension among the tribes of that district, caused so much bloodshed, and brought about the present collision between W. King and His Excellency the Governor.

"Its fruits soon appeared. But a few months after its formation, land was offered for sale to the Government by a tribe not connected with the League, and Rawiri Waiaua, a Native Assessor, went with his people to cut the boundary. Katatoré, one of the most active chiefs in the League, with sixty armed men, met them on the land, and fired at Rawiri's party, killing seven and wounding ten, Rawiri being among the dead. Thus commenced the native war at Taranaki, which has continued from that day to this, and has at length involved the Governor in a conflict with the obstructive party that threatens to be more serious in its results than any of the collisions of former years.

"There is reason to hope that Matini has seen the folly of such proceedings, as he appears to have been one of the speakers who attended the meeting of chiefs at Wellington in April last—a meeting convened by His Honour the Superintendent of that Province for the purpose of hearing the views of the native chiefs in reference to the Taranaki War, and at which Matini joined others in expressions of good-will to the Europeans and of desire to live in peace and unity."

## EXTRACT FROM MINUTES OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL, HELD ON WEDNESDAY, 25TH JANUARY, 1860.

(24, page 467.)

Present: His Excellency the Governor, the Hon. the Officer Commanding the Troops, the Hon. the Colonial Secretary, the Hon. the Attorney-General, the Hon. the Colonial Treasurer, the Hon. Mr Tancred.

"The Governor submits to the Council the question of the completion of the purchase from the Native Chief Te Teira of a certain block of land, situated in the Province of Taranaki, at the mouth of the Waitara, on its south and left bank, as a preliminary to which, a survey of the land is necessary.

"The Council, after a full consideration of the circumstance of the case, advise:

"1st. That Mr. Parris be instructed to have the said land surveyed in the ordinary manner, and to take care that the Native Chief, William King, be indirectly, but not officially, made aware of the day on which the survey will be commenced.

"2nd. Should William King or any other Native endeavour to prevent the survey, or in any way interfere with the prosecution of the work, in that case that the surveying party be protected during the whole performance of their work by an adequate military force, under the command of the senior military officer; with which view power to call out the Taranaki militia and volunteers, and to proclaim martial law, be transmitted to the commanding officer at New Plymouth.

"3rd. That when the survey shall have been completed, the officer commanding at New Plymouth shall, until further instructed, keep possession, by force if necessary, of the said land, so as to prevent the occupation of, or any act of trespass upon it, by any Natives.

"4th. That the civil authorities at New Plymouth be instructed to assist and co-operate, by every means in their power, with the military authorities in carrying out these instructions.

"And Colonel Gold and the Hon. C. W. Richmond, are to give the necessary directions accordingly.

(Signed) "F. G. STEWARD,
"Clerk of Executive Council."

## NEW ZEALAND BLUE BOOKS.—KING'S ADMISSION THAT THE LAND TEIRA SOLD BELONGED TO TEIRA.

(25, page 467.)

It would be impossible, in any tome much smaller than the London Directory, to lay before the reader the mass of letters, despatches, minutes, protests, journals, and memoranda, from Governors, Ministers, Missionaries, Land Commissioners, Native Secretaries, Natives and Colonists, which have been printed in New Zealand Blue Books, on the subject of the New Zealand War and its origin. Indeed, so many and so long are these papers, that in toiling through them a painful wonderment seizes on the mind as to what may become the oppressive weight of New Zealand Blue Books in a few years' time, if in our infant days we already bid fair to produce them by the hundredweight and the ton. And though in turning from page to page we may be proud to think that our community produces men who can write so lengthily, yet so well, a feeling

of disgust will occasionally arise in the reader's breast that the art of printing should ever have been invented, and he will be led to wish that both those who would uphold the British flag in New Zealand, and those who would tear it down, would strike harder, talk less, and seek to bring the issue to some speedy and practical conclusion.

Though, however, it would be impossible to present the reader with a tithe of the papers which have been printed on the Native War, the importance of seeing that Teira was the owner of the Waitara land, and that King was not, is so great that I deem it right to present the reader with a portion of the correspondence which passed between Teira and the Government respecting the land, and with the Land Commissioner's evidence as to William King's formal admission that it belonged to Teira :—

*Te Teira to the Governor.*

"Hurirapa, Waitara, April 20, 1859.

"Go, this letter of love, to the Governor.

"Your letter to myself and Richmond we have received. The land that I and Richmond consented for you to have belongs to myself, Richmond, Hemi Watakingi, Paranihi, Rawiri, my father Thomas, and Nopera. It belongs to all of us, the land that we two consented to, the seven consent to our offering it to you, it is our land from our ancestors, and therefore we consent rightly for you to have it. I am not rashly interfering with other people's land, the land is ours, and therefore we were right in giving it to you on the 8th of March near Mr. Parris's house, in the presence of a Council of 158, who heard me consent for you to have it. Do not listen to the words of others, but look to us seven. The thought was mine and Richmond's to sell to you.

"Mr. Parris is holding us back for the movement for peace with Ihaia and his people. I tell him not to do so, but that he and the Governor should settle it at once. Mr. Parris says, wait until Ihaia and William King have made friends. If peace should not be agreed upon, what will you do? Pay us, because there is a letter sent to the King about the piece of land I and Richmond have offered you and Mr. McLean, and therefore I say pay us.

"From your loving child,

"TEIRA; also
"RICHMOND,
"HEMI, and
"PARANIHI.

"To our loving Father the Governor and Mr. Smith."

*Te Teira and others to the Governor.*

"Waitoki, Jan. 19, 1860.

"Go this loving letter to Governor Browne and to Mr. Smith.

"Friends, salutations to you.

"This is our word to you. Hearken. Why do you delay? You say that Mr. Parris has the arrangement of the matter. Mr. Parris says that it lies with the Governor to consummate our marriage with the beautiful woman. Waitara—with the land which we have given up to you. Give your consent at my request. You said that it was deceit on my part. Agree that Mr. Parris shall complete it; do not delay the matter. If you are willing to do so, write to me; and if you are not, write to me. Write speedily, that it may come straight to your children, who are residing with Mr. Parris. We are sad, because of our marriage with this woman being deferred so long. This woman that we gave to you in the face of day is

now lying cold. You had better turn her towards you and warm her, that she may sleep comfortably in the middle of the bed. Come also yourself, that I may know your intentions, and that you may hear my word to you, Come, my Father the Governor. This is our letter to you.

"Yours,

| | |
|---|---|
| "TE TEIRA, | PARANIHI, |
| HEMI, | TE REITIMANA, |
| TAMATI, | RAWHIRI, |
| WETERINI, | MATIA, |
| ERUREA, | HORI." |

*District Commissioner, Taranaki, to Chief Land Purchase Commissioner.*

"New Plymouth, Dec. 4, 1859.

"SIR,—I have the honour to inform you, that on Tuesday, 29th ultimo, I paid an instalment of one hundred pounds to Teira and others, for their land at Waitara.

"On Friday, 25th ultimo, I went to Waitara, and informed William King that I purposed doing so. On Tuesday, 29th ultimo, he came to town with a party of about thirty to oppose it. I prevailed on them to meet Teira and party and discuss the question, which was done in a very orderly manner, in the presence of a large audience of Europeans.

"William King avowed his determination to oppose the sale, without advancing any reason for doing so; upon which I put a series of questions to him, which I called upon the Rev. Mr. Whiteley to witness.

"*Q. Does the land belong to Teira and party?—A. Yes, the land is theirs, but I will not let them sell it.*

"*Q.* Why will you oppose their selling that which is their own?—*A.* Because I do not wish for the land to be disturbed; and although they have floated it, I will not let it go to sea.

"*Q.* Show me the justice or correctness of your opposition.—*A.* It is enough, Parris, their bellies are full with the sight of the money you have promised them, but don't give it to them; if you do, I won't let you have the land, but will take it and cultivate it myself.

"Teira stops in town since he received the instalment, considering it not safe for him to stop at Waitara.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "ROBERT PARRIS,

"District Commissioner.

"I hereby certify that the above questions were put, and the answers given, as reported by Mr. Commissioner Parris.

(Signed) "JOHN WHITELEY.

"The Chief Commissioner, &c., &c.,

"Auckland."

Mr. Hadfield and Mr. Fox assert that when William King signed the deed described in note 15, he did not know what he was *doing;* they assert that when he declared to Mr. Commissioner Parris that the land did not belong to Te Teira, he did not know what he was *saying.* Poor man! Mr. Hadfield asserts that King did not mean to say so, that the words he used would not exactly bear the interpretation put on them, that in the Maori tongue affirmatives carry reservations, &c., &c. But Mr. Parris—whom Mr. Fox stigmatizes as a petty trader, but who is a most humane and respectable man, a most efficient officer, and a man who was almost trained up for his work by Bishop Selwyn, himself—probably knows the Maori language as well as Mr. Hadfield; while the Rev. Mr. Whiteley, one of the oldest and most influential of the Wesleyan Missionaries, probably

knows it better; and, with the exception of Mr. Hadfield and Mr. Fox, every one, I believe, is now satisfied that King made the declaration which appears over leaf, knew that he made it, and meant to observe it.

## MARTIAL LAW.

(26, page 468.)

Mr. Fox urges, with much pathos, that the Governor had intrusted Lieut.-Col. Murray, the commander of the forces at Taranaki, with a proclamation of martial law, to be published and used in case of necessity, *some weeks before such necessity became apparent.* Though I can seldom have the pleasure of agreeing with Mr. Fox, I can almost always understand him; here, however, I must confess he is an enigma. Surely the Governor, knowing that a collision might occur at any moment, that troops had been stationed at New Plymouth in order to be used if necessary, would have been an idiot if he had left Colonel Murray without that bit of paper in his pocket which it might be necessary for him to hold before he could use his troops. Unapproachable as the New Plymouth roadstead is for days together, it could well have happened that William King might have murdered a hundred Settlers, and devastated the district, before Colonel Murray could have communicated with Auckland and got from the Governor that written authority which he might have held it necessary to possess ere he could lawfully fire a gun.

As to the silly allegation that the proclamation of martial law was so drawn up as to be taken by the Southern Natives as a declaration of war, the Southern Natives knew as well as I know, that so long as they kept the peace, the peace would be kept with them; and it appears to me to be little short of monstrous to talk of the possibility of *hurting the feelings* of sanctified scoundrels who, as we have seen by note 8, had long plotted an attack on the Settlement.

*Mr. Stafford to Lieut.-Colonel Murray.*

"Colonial Secretary's Office, Auckland,
"25th January, 1860.

"Sir,—Referring to instructions which you will receive from the officer commanding the troops in New Zealand, relative to the employment of a military force, if necessary, in maintaining occupation on behalf of the Crown of a block of land at the mouth of the Waitara, purchased by the Crown from Te Teira and ordered to be surveyed, I have the honour to forward herewith to you a proclamation by his Excellency the Governor, proclaiming that martial law will be exercised throughout the Province of Taranaki from the date of the publication in that Province of the said proclamation.

"I also transmit an instrument appointing you to be the Governor's Deputy, for the purpose of directing the officer commanding the militia in the district of Taranaki to draw out for actual service the Taranaki militia, or such number thereof as you may judge necessary.

"It will be obvious to you that the proclamation should only be published by you, and operative effect given to the other instrument, under such circumstances as in your opinion render it impossible to carry out the wishes of the Government without resorting to the powers conferred by these documents.

"I have, &c.,
(Signed) "E. W. STAFFORD.

"Lieut.-Colonel Murray,
"Commanding Detachment,
"New Plymouth."

## UNDERRATED FORCE OF THE WAITARA REBELS.

(27, page 468.)

Contrary, perhaps, to the usual error in such documents, the numbers of the rebel bands at Taranaki have generally been underrated, both in the military despatches which have appeared, and in the letters of correspondents. King has command of the whole of the interior: this for the most part is a dense forest, with here and there a narrow native path winding through its gullies and ravines. The turbulent Mokau people are only a day's march to the north of him, his southern allies only a day s march to the south. Bands of these people might pass to and fro to Taranaki without a soul being seen. The character of the country even about the Settlement is such that a body of 500 Natives, like Roderick Dhu's men, might lie for days within half a mile of a stockade, and not be seen from it; and I have no doubt that in most of the skirmishes we have yet had with the Natives, their sudden reinforcements, their boldness of resistance and attack, and their partial successes in each, are attributable partly to the presence of bands of concealed men lying close hidden in the rear, ready to assist.

## DEPORTATION OF WILLIAM KING TO THE CHATHAM ISLANDS.

(28, page 474.)

If this Native is not killed in battle—and he takes such care of his person, that he will, it is thought, escape with a whole skin—he will probably be taken prisoner; or, when he finds himself defeated, will surrender himself. A Native who is known to have sworn that he would destroy every man, woman, and child in a pah that he was besieging, and who at night sent out his boys to murder our wounded men left on the field in the sad affair under Colonel Gould at the Waitara, deserves but little pity, and ought, perhaps, to be hung. If he be taken, however, I trust the Government will make better use of him, and deport him, as an emigrant, to the Chatham Islands. This would be a very striking punishment without being a cruel one; for some hundreds of his tribe have long resided there, and would be glad to receive him; and if Mr. Hadfield were to be sent with him as a sort of domestic chaplain, most people, I think, would say that they were a couple of the right men in the right place. We must catch our hares before we cook them; but when we catch King's Southern allies, the sanctified Nana Sahibs described in note 8, who plotted to destroy the Settlement in time of profound peace, and who murdered our boys at Omata, I trust there will be no sparing of the halter: they are infinitely more culpable than King, and such an example should be made of them, both by confiscation of a portion of their land and by other punishments, as would read the whole of the race a lesson never to be forgotten.

## TRIBAL JEALOUSIES.—THE FIGHT AT MAHOETAHI.

(29, page 481.)

It is thought by some that a marked instance of the fears and jealousies existing between various of the tribes, was manifested at the late fight at Mahoetahi, where William King and his rebel Ngatiawa stood aloof, and suffered the Waikatoes to be routed without firing a shot in their favour. William King may well have recollected that the last time a

Waikato force appeared in Taranaki, was when it almost annihilated his tribe at Pukerangiora: *Timeo danaos et dona ferentes*, he may have thought that he should have a more peaceful life of it at the Waitara under the King Log of the Settlers, than under the King Stork of the Waikatoes. Again, though King Movement and Land League Movement are substantially the same thing, inasmuch as both virtually aim at the subversion of British authority, and the success of the one would be the success of the other, yet there are some of the disaffected Natives who appear to think that if they could carry out the Land League they could dispense with the King, whose contested election might well reproduce the very troubles which the creation of a King was expected to extinguish. To expect that William King, a *Ngatiawa*, would place himself under the thumb of a sovereign ruler who was a *Waikato*, would be much as if the Fox were to pray the Wolf to be his sovereign lord; and King's neutrality at Mahoetahi may possibly have arisen from old fears and jealousies of the allies who had marched to his aid. It may well, however, have arisen from another motive, or from a combination of two motives. King may have been tired of the struggle, and anxious to make peace; and while he would argue that if these old blood foes of his, these officious Waikato allies, were destroyed he could well spare them, he would also argue that if he came to treat for peace, the fact of his having stood aloof from this Mahoetahi fight would be pretty certain to enable him to make better terms.

## COLONIAL MILITIA AND RIFLE VOLUNTEERS.

(30, page 482.)

I have not forgotten that while there are virtually no Natives in the South Island, there is there a Colonist population of some 40,000 people who, of course, as regards their numerical strength, could also supply a picked force of 3,000 men. But it is to be recollected that a large portion of this population is several hundred miles distant from the scene of action; and also that in New Zealand we have no idlers, no young men of aristocratic or rich middle-class families who, having nothing to do, would turn out for a campaign against the Natives, much as they would for a sporting tour. In New Zealand we are all workers, and almost every man in the field of our 3,000 Colonial militia and volunteers would be a man who, if he were at home, would be at work in his shirt sleeves, labouring to better his condition or that of his family. Recollecting this, then, I think that if out of a population of 20,000 males between the soldier's age of 18 and 40, the young Colony furnished a crack fighting force of from 3,000 to 4,000 men—about one in five—the young Colony could not be accused of showing the white feather.

## THE RIGHT OF COLONIES TO ASK THE MOTHER-COUNTRY FOR PROTECTIVE MILITARY AND NAVAL AID.

(31, page 483.)

Some while ago, and at the instance, I think, of General Peel, a Commission, consisting of Mr. Elliot, of the Colonial Office, Mr. Godley, of the War Department, but formerly a Canterbury Colonist, and another gentleman, was appointed to report on this interesting and important subject. The Commission was unanimous in accepting the proposition, that the defence and protection of Colonies was a *mutual* work, one devolving both

on the people of the Mother-Country and the people of the Colony—but the Commission differed widely as to the *amount* of work which each people, for their common good, should be called on to do. Mr. Godley, here as at Canterbury, delighting to lay down broad principles, and sublimely indifferent as to their practicability, passed over the thousand and one differences, in the age, strength, and stature of our Colonies, treated each of them as exactly six feet high, and—believing "that each fair Borough, numerically free, should choose its members by the rule of three"—reported that when any Colony required a protective force equal to 4, the Mother-Country, in men or money, should contribute 2, and that the Colony should be made to contribute the other 2. Mr. Elliot, as might be expected of a plain man who had not helped to plant Canterbury, naturally advocated something less Utopian, and declared that the amount of the contribution to be furnished by the Colony should be regulated by the Colony's state of strength and resources.

Mr. Elliot was right. A well-grown youth of sixteen, earning good wages, may well be required to assist poor parents with a few shillings a week for the support of the family—Mr. Godley would demand the same contribution from every thumb-sucking baby, and signify to him that there would be no more pap till he, Baby, bestirred himself to earn it. No abstract principle can be laid down in a matter of this kind: each case must be dealt with on its own merits. The remarks at page 440 will, I think, show that a Colony is a limb of the Mother-Country which the latter, for her own sake, should keep in healthy order; and I am free to confess, that of late years the Mother-Country has done her best to keep her fifty Colonial limbs in order. To keep the New Zealand limb in order, to save amputation perhaps, we want, for a time, say 10,000 bayonets: the Mother-Country numbers thirty millions of people, we ask her to lend us some 6,000 of their bayonets—New Zealand numbers 80,000 people, we offer to supply the other 3,000 or 4,000 bayonets ourselves.

Recollecting that the Northen portion of New Zealand might possibly supply you with some of the finest Sea Island cotton, do we here ask too much, Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright? Surely not. Recollect, my dear sirs, that the troubles in New Zealand, in which the property of the Colonists is being given to the flames, in which their children are being murdered, their volunteers slain, are troubles which have arisen under the Government of the Mother-Country, not under the Government of the Colonists. Crown nominees, the Governor and his Missionary Officials, attempted to rule the New Zealand Natives twenty years ago; Crown nominees, the Governor, and his Native Council are attempting to rule them now. Recollect, too, that the young Colony of New Zealand has not been niggardly with her own slender resources; she has not rapped at the door of your Exchequer every year and meanly asked you to pay her every bill. Some years since your Colonial Office, under the management of your friend Lord Derby, backed by Exeter Hall, fought a series of brilliant actions with the great Commercial and Colonizing Company of your day, the New Zealand Company, Offices, No. 1, Broad Street, City. The pecuniary result of this internecine struggle, between your Downing Street, your Exeter Hall, your Broad Street, was the disappearance of a quarter of a million of money. The actual Colonists of New Zealand, the men who grow wool and corn, and buy your cottons and your hardware, had no more hand in losing this money than the Colonists of the Cape. The money was dropped in the great fight between Lord Derby and the Chairman of the New Zealand Company—the ring was in Middlesex, and no Colonist picked

up a shilling—we were 10,000 miles away. But when the little Bill for trespasses, unhinged gates, broken fences and the like, came to be paid, you handed it over to us, and we paid it without a word. You said if we would pay it you would give us a Constitution, and we did pay it, and got our Constitution; and now many of us think we had better have kept our money and been without our Constitution. But that mellifluous Fox of ours named at pages 168 and 358, flattered us we could sing, so we opened our mouths, dropped our money, and essayed to croak for him that ambitious constitutional bravura which he vowed would enchant his ears. Recollect these things, my dear sirs, and when, first day of Session, Mr. Chichester Fortescue shall be comforting Mr. Williams with the information that *only* six regiments and two batteries of artillery are on the way to South Britain, don't indulge in ironical cheers.

## THE FRENCH ARMAMENTS IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC.

### (32, page 484.)

"Come war when it may, who can for a moment doubt that here, in the South Pacific, will be the great colonial battle-field between France and England? In the last great war, England distracted the attention and crippled the resources of France by her incessant attacks upon her colonial possessions. Should war ensue will not France be apt to improve upon lessons of our own teaching? and with a fine new navy, such as she never before could boast, will she not be in a position to enforce her views? Here we both are—a 'Young England' growing up in Australia, Tasmania, and New Zealand—and a 'Young France' springing into active and energetic existence in New Caledonia, the Marquesas, Tahiti, and other islands of the South. France, though she does not colonize as the British do, knows well how to protect, and is ungrudging in furnishing the men and munitions for the defence of her Colonial possessions. Contrast the French with the British naval squadrons detailed for service in these seas, and we shall find that in ships, tons, guns, steam-power, and men, the French have an almost overwhelming preponderance. With regard to land defences no contrast can possibly be drawn. Forts and fortifications are, with the French, one of the first and most indispensable elements of colonization. Tahiti bristles with guns. New Caledonia, an acquisition of yesterday, is being rapidly and strongly armed; while Sydney, Melbourne, Hobart Town, and Adelaide are virtually defenceless; and New Zealand is without a single effective battery or fort, and without a gun of any calibre or range to mount within one if she had it. No one can shut his eyes to such a hazardous state of affairs, or to the inevitable consequences of a sudden rush. To New Zealand, the outlying picket, as it were, of Australasia—situate midway between Tahiti and New Caledonia—the danger, in the event of a war, would be most imminent;—and we cannot but think, that for her own honour, and the security of her Colonial supremacy, not an hour should be lost by England in putting these Settlements in a position to protect themselves and the great British interests dependent upon them. Give the Colonies the guns and the works; and as we preceded the Mother-Country in the 'Rifle Movement,' so she may rest assured that we should not be behind her in manning the trenches, had we but trenches to man, guns to serve, and munitions wherewith to charge them."—*New Zealander*, March 28.

## NECESSITY OF OBSERVING THE TREATY OF WAITANGI.

(33, page 484.)

Smarting as the British Australasian public are under the ungrateful insolence of the Maori race, revolted by the murders of the wounded soldiers and the Taranaki boys, indignant at the braggart threats of the Land Leaguers and Maori Kingites, it has here and there been urged that as the Natives have now contemptuously torn up one portion of the Waitangi Treaty, we should now tear up the rest, begin *de novo* in our Colonization of New Zealand, proclaim the whole country British territory, and enforce our rule at the point of the bayonet. No one can have a lower opinion of this Treaty than I have—still it is a Treaty, it has been acted on for twenty years, practice has obliterated its base, bastard origin; some of the tribes at least have substantially observed it, and it would be an act of bad faith to the Maori race, and one which would bring its own punishment, if we were now to suffer the provocations we have received to incite us to depart from it. The Waitangi Treaty must still be scrupulously observed, and remain, what its admirers like us to call it, the Magna Charter of the Maori.

## THE NEW "NATIVE COUNCIL."

(34, page 484.)

The General Assembly, in its last session just closed at Auckland, passed an Act creating a "Native Council;" but the details of the Act, the constitution of such Council, the mode of creating its members, their powers and duties, are not known to me at the time I write. If, as has been rumoured, the Council is to consist mainly of members of the Old Church Missionary party, and is to be intrusted with the framing and execution of all Native measures, it will prove the greatest curse to the Colony which our worst enemies could have devised. If, on the other hand, while admitting members like Archdeacon Hadfield, it provides itself with such antidotes as it would have in the persons of some of the practical Wesleyan Missionaries, and of men like ex-Chief Justice Martin, Mr. MacLean, Mr. Dillon Bell, Mr. Dart Fenton, Dr. Thompson (if the Government could get such a man to return to New Zealand), and other eminent laymen, distinguished by their thorough acquaintance with the Natives, and by their popularity with both races, it may prove our greatest blessing.

## NATIVES IN THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

(35, page 485.)

It appears to me that the time has arrived when the Queen might well select half-a-dozen of the most loyal chiefs, created them life Peers, and give them a robe of dignity and seats in the Legislative Council; and I also think that, under some simple form of election, a dozen or more chiefs might now well take seats in our House of Representatives. Certain lingual difficulties which have been urged against such steps have been much overrated. Both in our Upper and Lower House there are members quite competent to understand every speech which might be made in the native tongue; an official interpreter, too—say one of the members the best up in Maori—might always be present as a referee,

and the debates of the House might be printed in the two languages, as was long the custom at the Cape. Each Native member would of course require to be maintained during his month's or two months' attendance at the annual session of the Assembly—but the 1,000*l.* the Colony or the Mother-Country might devote to this purpose would, I think, be money well expended. The "Native Council," if it be properly constituted, may prove the most practical power in the work of civilizing the Maori race; but we have to recollect that the Native Council, whatever may prove its merits, will always be looked on by a large body of the Colonists as an anomalous excrescence in our constitution; and, that if the great object be to make the two races one, this object will scarcely be accomplished by ruling one race by one power, the other by another. I do not suppose that, at first, our Native members would take any very active part either on Opposition or Ministerial or Native benches. They would prove more picturesque than useful. But if at first they did no good they would certainly do no harm. The race, too, would, I think, be mightily proud of having its representatives "wagging their pows" in the great Runanga of the Queen. There must be a beginning to everything, and the shadow might soon become the substance.

## THE NECESSITY OF TEACHING THE MAORI COMMON THINGS.

(36, page 485.)

It may seem a coarse thing to say, but it is a true thing to say, that if our Missionaries would direct the attention of the Maori rather more to his present state and rather less to his future, give him a little more animal food and a little less spiritual food, they would really do him far more good. Scrofula and consumption, springing mainly from their piggish mode of life and certain life-shortening sexual evils alluded to at page 114, are biennially decimating the race; and to do nothing but preach and pray to a people who are passing away is to exhibit as much practical philanthropy as we should display in seeking to restore a half-drowned man by reading over him the twenty-second chapter of the Book of Job. The Maori wants a model village here and there; and in every second Pah some respectable, married, jack-of-all-trades' carpenter, who, in consideration of receiving from the tribe, say, 100 acres of land, would reside with them and teach them how to pull down their pig-sty wares and put up model huts, and whose matron wife would show the women how to cook a leg of pork and doctor the black baby with fresh air, soap and water, and mutton broth. And in every second village, planted down by the side of the carpenter, the Maori wants a good, married, agricultural labourer, who should also have his 100 acres of land, and who would show the village how easily grass and sheep may be made to take the place of dock and thistle. Carpenter and labourer, both officers of the Native Council, and both subject to periodical visitations from Dart Fenton, Dillon Bell, or other itinerant Ædile of the Board. This is the sort of thing the Native wants, and this sort of thing might be provided for him at a very small expense. Theories of Government propounded by classical Missionaries, graduating both at Oxford and Utopia, dissertations on the Trinity, moral essays after Martin Tupper, moving pictures of the Prodigal Son in ragged breeches and cocked hat, have all been given to the Maori, and have done him, perhaps, less harm than good; but if we want to change the weasel's nature, if we want to save the Maori from himself, we must not only see that he is better governed, but that he is better clothed, and better housed, and better fed.

## AMALGAMATION.

(37, page 485.)

I have offered a few remarks on this subject at page 122; and I would here repeat that, in my opinion, no great or general matrimonial amalgamation of the two races is at present possible. But some physical union of the races would, I think, be productive of excellent results, and certain existing legislative prohibitions unquestionably tend to *prevent* such union. Any young Colonist, partly enamoured of Tennyson's picture placed below,* and happy in his Bush life, might well be willing to espouse some dusky maid of the mountains, and ally himself to a chief of high Moko; but though such chief might possess fifty thousand acres of fertile waste land, the law, as it stands, would forbid him to settle an acre of it on his would-be son. Thus the wooer, who, though not mercenary, would still wish that his "dusky race" should have better work to do than "catching goats" and "mocking parrots," abandons the matrimonial idea, and returns to town, or may take the maid for a mistress, and desert his broken toy when passion is appeased. The half-caste race is a very fine race. A few hundred respectable young Colonists married to Native girls, one living in this village, three or four in the next, would be admirable pioneers of settlement and civilization, and would soon neutralize the hostile influences exercised over the Natives by that bad portion of the "Pakeha-Maori" men described at page 448. And I cannot but think that the attention of the Native Council might well be directed to the framing of some measure under which the few *liaisons* of young Settlers with Native girls should become still fewer, and the marriages more frequent.

## THE NECESSITY OF NEW ZEALAND HAVING SOME EFFICIENT OFFICIAL REPRESENTATION IN THE MOTHER-COUNTRY.

(38, page 485.)

In the first edition of this work, I made some observations on the "legislative cohesion of our Home and Colonial Empire, and on the advisability of St. Stephen's giving a few seats on its benches to Colonial Members, or of Downing Street receiving a few Colonial Representatives as Ambassadors. In a complimentary letter on the work, which I had the pleasure of receiving from Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, then Secretary for the Colonies, he observed, to the best of my recollection, that though he thought there were grave objections to the presence of Colonial Members in the British House of Commons, yet that he thought my suggestion as to Colonies having some permanent official representatives in the mother-country of higher grade and status than mere Emigration Agents, was a suggestion worthy of consideration.

I still entertain the opinion that our principal Colonies ought to send Members to Westminster. I hold that each great Colony is as much a

* "There, methinks, would be enjoyment more than in this march of mind,
In the steamship, in the railway, in the thoughts that shake mankind.
There the passions, cramp'd no longer, shall have scope and breathing space;
I will take some savage woman, she shall rear my dusky race.
Iron-jointed, supple-sinew'd, they shall dive and they shall run,
Catch the wild goat by the hair, and hurl their lances in the sun;
Whistle back the parrot's call, and leap the rainbows of the brooks,
Not with blinded eyesight poring over miserable books!"—*Tennyson.*

limb of the United Kingdom as Yorkshire or Kent may be. Virtually the Colonies now stand as near to us as Yorkshire did to Westminster in Elizabeth's time. On all great paramount subjects, their interests are identical with those of the mother-country; while the argument that the admission of Colonists to a participation in imperial legislation would be representation without taxation, I would meet by three counter-arguments. 1st. The Colonists, by their immense consumption of the manufactures of the mother-country, and by their immense supply of raw products necessary for the manufactures of the mother-country, do, virtually, pay a very large portion of the taxes of the mother-country, inasmuch as the profits derived by the residents of the mother-country from this immense trade and traffic with colonists furnish a large number of such residents with the very means of paying their taxes. 2nd. That Colonists, or which is the same thing, Emigrants, (for if each individual Colonist is not an Emigrant, he is the descendant of an Emigrant,) in expatriating themselves to the number of 5,000,000, in going forth to create new worlds, in doing, so to speak, the rough work of the great British Nation, have signally benefited the British Nation, benefited it far beyond those profits of trade and that political security—alluded to at pages 342 and 438. This exodus has given scope and breathing space, and opportunity and occasion to the "home-staying" people, without which they might have been stifled or trodden down in the crowd; and thus Colonists in various ways, directly and indirectly, are signal benefactors of the Nation, who have contributed and who do still contribute as much to its real wealth and strength as any other portion of the people who may directly pay imperial taxes. 3rd. That if war were to be proclaimed in Downing Street against a naval power, it is the Colonies which would be attacked; and that as the power of declaring or continuing war virtually rests with the British Parliament, where Colonies are not represented, five millions of the British nation are exposed to a calamity which they have not the slightest legislative or constitutional power of seeking to avert or moderate

Whatever, however, may be the arguments, pro and con, as to Colonies being directly represented in the British Parliament, it appears to me that the time has come when such a Colony as New Zealand, at least, requires some more efficient representation in the mother-country than she has ever yet possessed; and my idea of what she wants is this. To the present Ministerial Executive of New Zealand there should be added a "Home Minister." Such Minister to be appointed by the same powers as now appoint the other Ministers, but to hold office for a year and a half or two years, certain. Such Home Minister to be a leading practical and political Colonist, who, during his term of office should be resident in London. Such Home Minister to preside over an office to be established in London, to be called the New Zealand Office, his duties being these—1st. Communicating with the Colonial Office on any Legislative Acts of the General Assembly, or any public matters relating to the Colony on which the Colonial Office might desire to consult him. 2. Presiding over and directing the Immigrationary business of the various provinces of the Colony, and making his office the great popular head-quarters for New Zealand, where trustworthy official information on every New Zealand subject might be freely obtained by the British and Continental public. The salary of such Home Minister to be 1000*l.* a year, with 300*l.* for overland travelling expenses; and his establishment to consist of a Secretary at 400*l.* a year, and a chief Clerk at 100*l.*

Such an establishment—salaries, rent of offices, printing and small items

—might be maintained by the Colony in London for 2,000*l.* a-year, and I believe it would soon prove an establishment worth to the Colony 50,000*l.* a year. Such a Colonist as Mr. Fitzgerald, or Mr. Richmond, or Sir Charles Clifford, or Mr. Sewell, or Mr. Stafford, or Mr. Fox, or a dozen others of this calibre, filling the office of New Zealand Home Minister, and speaking from this substantial elevation, would be the means of doing incalculable service to the Colony. He would save half the tedious reference, made by the Colonial Office to the Colony on the subject of Colonial Bills, and prevent any hasty or ill-judged exercise of the power of veto. He would be the confidential adviser of Downing Street in all matters affecting New Zealand; and had he been in existence during the present conjucture would have had three or four regiments on their way out months ago. If the Provinces would intrust their immigration interests to him—and with the exception of Otago, who recruits in Scotland, they safely might, I believe he would send them more capital and labour in one year than they have hitherto obtained in two—from the position he would command in society, he would have, and would use, a thousand opportunities of increasing the popularity of New Zealand, in quarters utterly inaccessible to a mere local emigration agent or employé—and such Home Minister, renewed every eighteen months, and going back to his Colleagues, fresh from Europe and the great world of London, might well be expected to rub up the intellects of the governing authorities in the Colony, slightly impaired, perhaps, as these might be by long confinement in a small official ring and by long exclusive familiarity with the Bush.

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NOTE.—Any of my readers wishing to avail themselves of the offer made at page 6, had better address me, care of my Publisher, Mr. E. STANFORD, 6, Charing Cross, London.

# NOTICES OF THE PRESS ON THE FIRST EDITION,

AND

# ON SOME MINOR WORKS AND LECTURES.

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"Mr. Hursthouse lays down the minutest details on every imaginable point, and with a sound sense and absence of pretensions quite refreshing. He shows how everything may be done to the utmost advantage, and the greatest ultimate benefit. The difficulties are not

concealed, but there are none insuperable to a stout arm and a stout will. In the heart-sickening strife of home competition, it would be more than well if families would carry their small capitals out to a land like this, where the children are a mine of wealth, instead of a millstone round the neck of the anxious parent."

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## OBSERVER.

"Perfectly master of his subject, Mr. Hursthouse has managed to combine sound practical knowledge for the emigrant with an amount of information on the history and physical features of the country, which renders his work in the highest degree interesting to the general reader. Without much presumption he might have entitled his book a 'Cyclopædia' of all that an intending emigrant to New Zealand requires to know of his adopted country."

## DESPATCH.

"Written in a vigorous and attractive style, and blends humour with earnestness, which latter quality it possesses in an eminent degree. The extent and variety of information imparted, renders the work one of more than ordinary interest and importance to all who think of seeking their fortunes beyond seas; whilst the general reader will derive from it both instruction and entertainment."

## LEADER.

"Its plan is good, and it seems to be carefully constructed by a writer thoroughly familiar with his subject. The substance is carefully packed together, and the classification of topic is admirable."

## WESTMINSTER AND FOREIGN QUARTERLY REVIEW.

"The advice to emigrants and settlers is peculiarly valuable, from its sound, practical character."

## COLONIAL MAGAZINE.

"The work contains an immense amount of valuable matter."

## CRITIC.

"We cannot too warmly recommend Mr. Hursthouse's book to the intending emigrant and the general reader."

## WEEKLY NEWS.

"Mr. Hursthouse is a *practical* man; and to all about to emigrate, we heartily recommend these very full and satisfactory volumes. A frank, cordial spirit pervades the book."

## NEWS OF THE WORLD.

"There are so few able and elaborate works on New Zealand, that Mr. Hursthouse's book supplies a void which has long been felt."

## WEEKLY TIMES.

"This book is written with a bold and intrepid pen. We have read it with interest and pleasure, not less for the fulness of its knowledge than for its manly uncompromising style."

## CATHOLIC STANDARD.

"Written in a clear, candid, impartial spirit; every word bears the stamp and impress of truth."

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"Truthful, honest, and judicious."—*Gardener's Chronicle.*

"One of the cheapest and best books on emigration."—*Tallis's Weekly Paper.*

"Every intending emigrant would do well by purchasing this little publication, and pondering seriously over its contents."—*Mark Lane Express.*

"Written in a style which combines vigour and ability, with a share of piquancy and vivacity which renders it very attractive."—*Aberdeen Journal.*

"A readable book, full fraught with useful information."—*North of Scotland Gazette.*

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"The best work on the subject which has yet come under our notice."—*Nottingham Guardian.*

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"Replete with practical information."—*Wigan Times.*

"Evidently the production of one who has studied the subject '*au fond.*'"—*Durham Advertiser.*

"A practised and practical writer on emigration; here, in a few business-like pages, contrasts the various emigration fields."—*Gateshead Observer.*

"One of the most interesting and useful works we have perused for a long time past."—*Somerset Herald.*

"The subject is treated in a very masterly manner."—*Southern Times.*

"A cheap and excellent little manual."—*Coventry Herald.*

"No one who thinks of emigrating should be without this book."—*Kentish Observer.*

"There is much sound information in these pages, and at times not a little humorous description."—*Liverpool Times.*

"The author thoroughly understands his subject, and well he may, his work is characterized throughout by candour and moderation."—*Leicester Mercury.*

"Fraught with much valuable information, conveyed in a clear and amusing style."—*Bath Herald.*

"A perfect specimen of what a work on emigration should be."—*Herts Guardian.*

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# LECTURES.

## PLYMOUTH JOURNAL.

"A very interesting lecture, at the Mechanics' Institute, was delivered here, on Friday evening, by Mr. C. Hursthouse. Sir John Trelawny, M.P., occupied the chair. At the conclusion of the lecture further information was elicited; but the junior members giving vent to a round of applause now were the means of stopping further discussion."

## BOSTON HERALD.

"On Friday evening a very interesting lecture was delivered here by Mr. Hursthouse. The lecturer was warmly cheered during his address, which was clear, elegant, and, above all, practical."

## PENZANCE GAZETTE.

"A lecture, which excited very considerable attention, was delivered at the Literary Institution here, on Friday evening, by Mr. C. Hursthouse. The president, A. Colliver, Esq., occupied the chair; and, although the evening was unfavourable, the hall was crowded, many persons being unable to obtain seats. * * * Mr. Hursthouse concluded his lecture amidst much applause."

## LEICESTER MERCURY.

"On Thursday evening a lecture, on the advantages offered by New Zealand as a field for emigration, was delivered in the Town Hall, by Mr. C. Hursthouse, author of the excellent work on New Zealand, which we lately reviewed; and although the notice was very short, the audience was most numerous and highly respectable."

## GUERNSEY STAR.

"We have deferred till our present number our report on the very instructive and interesting lecture on emigration, which was given by Mr. Hursthouse on Tuesday evening last, because we could not afford the time or space which we desired to devote to the subject,—alike for the purpose of doing some measure of justice to the lecturer, and of conveying to our readers a useful summary of the valuable information he communicated."

## BATH HERALD.

"On Thursday evening, a lecture on 'Emigration, Emigration Fields, and who should Emigrate,' was delivered at the Institution, by Mr. Hursthouse, to a numerous audience. The lecture was fraught with much valuable information, conveyed in a clear and amusing style, and kept the attention of the audience fixed on the lecturer to the close, when he was greeted with much applause."

## BANBURY GUARDIAN.

"On Friday evening last, Mr. Charles Hursthouse delivered a very interesting lecture on the above subject in the British Schoolroom. This gentleman is the author of several works on emigration, and has visited the United States of America, Canada, South Africa, Australia, and New Zealand, which latter country he has selected as his future home. His lecture was delivered in a very pleasing manner, and it contained a great deal of useful and instructive matter."

## SHEFFIELD FREE PRESS.

"The author is a lecturer of acknowledged ability. His style is graphic and lively, his advice to emigrants shrewd and sensible, and his general facts and observations are complete and reliable."

## CAMBRIDGE INDEPENDENT.

"To a perfect acquaintance with his subject, the Lecturer added a clear arrangement and enunciation; whilst the absence of everything like claptrap gained for him the confidence of his audience, which was both numerous and highly respectable."

PREPARING FOR PUBLICATION,*

(WITH MAPS),

# BRITISH EMIGRATION FIELDS,

AS THEY ARE IN 1861:

| | |
|---|---|
| VICTORIA. | NATAL. |
| SOUTH AUSTRALIA. | CAPE COLONY. |
| WEST AUSTRALIA. | BRITISH KAFFRARIA. |
| TASMANIA. | CANADA. |
| QUEENSLAND. | NOVA SCOTIA. |
| NEW SOUTH WALES. | NEW BRUNSWICK. |
| NEW ZEALAND. | BRITISH COLUMBIA. |

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BY CHARLES HURSTHOUSE.

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* In case the Author does not return to the Colonies sooner than he at present expects to do, this Work, it is hoped, will be ready for press in May. He would here observe, too, that if any readers wish to avail themselves of the offer made at the conclusion of the Introduction to the present Volume on New Zealand, they had better address him, under cover, to Mr. Stanford, Publisher, 6, Charing Cross, London, who will kindly forward on any letters so received.

London: Printed by W. CLOWES AND SONS, Stamford-street and Charing-cross.

# MAP OF THE WORLD ON MERCATOR'S PROJECTION,

## SHOWING THE LINE OF ALL THE ROUTES TO AND FROM NEW ZEALAND.

00105929

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